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## CONTENTS

PAGES

The Nature of "Folklore" and "Popular Art"—
By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy .. .. 1— 12

The Notion of Difference in Dvaita—
By M. A. Venkata Rao, M.A. .. .. 13— 25

A Short Account of the Damilas—
By Dr. Bimala Churn Law, Ph.D., M.A., B.L. 26— 29

The Kathaka and the Aruna Prasnas of the Yajur Veda—
By N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T. .. 30— 34

Dravidic Sandhi—
By L. V. Ramaswami Aiyar, M.A., B.L. .. 35— 53

Foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and Vidyaranya's Part Therein—
By S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L. .. .. 54—107

The Æsthetic Approach to God—A Study in the Æsthetic Elements in Bhakti—
By M. Yamunacharya, M.A. .. .. 108—121

Alagarkoyil and Its Inscriptions—
By V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B.A. .. .. 122—135

The Making of Mysore .. .. .. 136—152

The Atharva Veda and the Mantra Sastra—
By N. K. Venkatesan, M.A., L.T. .. .. 153—158

The Original Name of Mahabalipuram—
By Rao Sahib C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, B.A., B.L. .. .. .. .. 159—163

On Two Sinhalese Accumulation Drolls—
By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L. .. 164—171

PAGES

On the Fire-Walking Ceremony of the Dusadhs of Bihar—
BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L. .. 172—181

Studies in Bird-Myths, No. XLIX—
BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L. .. 182—184

Studies in Plant-Myths, No. XXVII—
BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L. .. 185—189

The Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society .. .. .. .. .. 190—203

Reviews .. .. .. .. .. 204—230

Notes .. .. .. .. .. 231—233

Editorial .. .. .. .. .. 234—235

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# THE NATURE OF "FOLKLORE" AND "POPULAR ART"

By Ananda K. Coomaraswamy

A sharp distinction is commonly drawn between "learning" and folklore, "high art" and popular art: and it is quite true that under present conditions the distinction is valid and profound. Factual science and personal or academic art on the one hand, and "superstition" and "peasant art" on the other are indeed of different orders, and pertain to different levels of reference.

We seem to find that a corresponding distinction has been drawn in India between the constituted (*saṁskṛta*) and provincial (*deśī*) languages and literatures, and between a highway (*mārga*) and a local or byway (*deśī*) art; and what is *saṁskṛta* and *mārga* being always superior to what is *deśī*, an apparent parallel is offered to the modern valuation of learning and academic art and relative disparagement of superstition and folk art. When, for example, we find in *Saṁgītadarpaṇa*, I. 4–6, "The ensemble of music (*saṁgītam*) is of two kinds, highway (*mārga*) and local (*deśī*): that which was

followed after by Śiva (*druhiṇena*)[1] and practised (*prayuktam*) by Bharata is called 'highway' and bestows liberation (*vimukti-dam*); but that which serves for wordly entertainment (*lokānurañjakam*) in accordance with local custom (*deśaṣṭayā rītyā*) is called 'local'," and when similarly the *Daśarūpa*, I. 15 distinguishes *mārga* from *deśī* dancing, the first being "that which displays the meanings of words by means of gestures,"[2] it is generally assumed that the modern distinction of "art" from "folk" music is intended. It is also true that the modern *ustād* looks down upon what are actually folksongs, very much in the same way that the academic musician of modern Europe looks down upon folk music, although in neither case is there an entire want of appreciation.

A pair of passages parallel to those above can advantageously be cited. In the *Jaiminīya Brāhmaṇa*, II. 69–70, where Prajāpati and Death conduct opposing sacrifices,[3] the protagonists are aided by two "armies" or "parties," Prajāpati's consisting of the chanted lauds, recitative, and ritual acts (the sacerdotal art), and Death's of "what was sung to the harp, enacted (*nṛtyate*),[4] or done, by way of mere

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[1] Brahma may be meant, but the word suggests rather Śiva. Both of these aspects of deity are traditionally "authors" of the principles of music and dancing; the former in the *Nātya Sāstra*, the latter in the *Abhinaya Darpaṇa*.

[2] The *Abhinaya Darpaṇa* similarly distinguishes *nṛtya*, or mimesis, *viz.*, that form of the dance which has flavour, mood, and implied significance (*rasa*, *bhāva*, *vyañjana*), from *nṛtta*, or decorative dancing, devoid of flavour and mood.

[3] It need hardly be pointed out that the Vedic sacrifice, constantly described as a mimesis of "what was done in the beginning," is in all its forms and in the fullest sense of the words, a work of art, and a synthesis of arts, liturgical and architectural, just as the same can be said of the Christian Mass (which is also a mimetic sacrifice), in which the dramatic and architectural elements are inseparably connected.

[4] It should not be supposed that that it is only on Death's side that there is singing to the harp, enactment (*nṛt*) and a doing (*kṛ*); the point is that all of these acts are done by him *vṛthā*, "wantonly," for mere pleasure, and not in due form. As already remarked, the

entertainment" (*vṛthā*). When Death has been overcome, he resorts to the women's house (*patnīśālā*), and it is added that what had been his "party" are "now what people sing to the harp, or enact, or do, to please themselves" (*vṛthā*). In the *Śukranītisāra*, IV. 4. 73–76, we find that whereas the making of images of deities is "conducive to the world of heavenly light," or "heavenward leading" (*svargya*), the making of likenesses of men, with however much skill, is "non-conducive to the world of heavenly light" (*asvargya*). The common reference of *vṛthā* and *asvargya* here to what is connoted by our word *deśī* previously cited, will be evident.

A similar distinction of sacred from profane musical art is drawn in *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa*, III. 2. 4 in connection with the seduction of Vāc, who is won over from the Gandharvas by the Devas; Vāc, the feminine principle, turns away from the Vedic recitations and the hymnody and lauds in which the Gandharvas are occupied and turns to the harp-playing and singing with which the mundane Devas propose to please her. It is significant that whereas the Gandharvas invite her attention by saying "We verily know, we know," what is offered by the Gods is to "give you pleasure" (*tvā pramodayiṣyāma*). And so, as the text expresses it, Vāc indeed inclined

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sacrifice is mimetic by nature and definition, and it is for this reason that we render *nṛtyate* by "enacted" rather than by "danced," for, though there can be no doubt that the ritual, or portions of it, were in a certain sense "danced," this expression would hardly convey to a modern reader the significance of the root *nṛt* as employed here as well as in later stage directions, where what is intended is a signification by means of formal and rhythmic gestures. That the ritual must have been, as we said, at least in parts, a kind of dance, is evident from the fact that the Gods themselves, engaged in the work of creation, are compared to dancers (*nṛtyatām iva*, *RV*., X. 72. 6), and that in *KB*., XVII. 6, the sacrificing priests are spoken of as "dancing" (*ninartyanti*), Keith justly commenting that this implies a "union of song, recitation, and dancing," that is to say, what is later called the ensemble of music, *saṁgīta*. It may be added that ritual dancing survived in the Christian sacrifice at least as late as the eighteenth century, in Spain.

to the Gods, but she did so "vainly" (*mogham*), inasmuch as she turned away from those who were occupied with celebration and laudation, to the dancing and singing of the Gods. And "This is why women even here and now (*itarhi*) are addicted to vanity (*mogham-saṁhitāḥ*), for Vāc inclined thereto, and other women do as she did. And so it is that they take a liking most readily to one who sings and dances" (*nṛtyati, gāyati*). It is quite clear that *mogham* here corresponds to *vṛthā* in the *Jaiminīya* text, and that in both cases the worldly and feminine arts of mere amusement are contrasted with the sacred liturgical arts. It is also perfectly clear that the worldly arts of mere amusement are regarded literally as "deadly"—it must not be forgotten that "all that is under the sun is under the sway of death" (*mṛtyun-āptam*, *Śatapatha Br.*, X. 5. 1. 4)—and that such disparagement of the arts as can be recognized in Indian thought (especially Buddhist) from first to last is a disparagement not of the arts as such, but of the secular arts of mere amusement as distinguished from the intellectual arts that are a very means of enlightenment.[5]

Before going further it will be desirable to examine more closely some of the terms that have been cited. In connection

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[5] The modern iconoclastic attitude towards the arts of imagery and dancing, according to which attempts are made to abolish "idolatry" and the service of Devadāsīs in temples is of a deformative rather than a reformative nature. The intellectual limitations of the iconoclast are such that he interprets in a worldly and moralistic sense what are in themselves by no means vain and deadly but truly *mārga* and *svargya* arts; contemporary mentality reduces all things to its own *deśī* level. That those who see nothing despicable in the use of a harmonium should at the same time regard the presence of the temple dancer as a profanation represents indeed a grotesque inversion of sacred and profane, intellectual and moral values! It may be said with literal truth that "now what people sing to the harmonium," etc., represents the party of Death, and that whoever introduces a harmonium into any sacred place is actively taking the part of Death against Prajāpati. One who is capable of such profanity, however he may call himself a Nationalist, is really committing spiritual suicide, and whatever government he has, is only getting what he deserves.

with the passage quoted above, Dr. Bake has remarked that "The religious value of art music—*mārga*—is clearly apparent from this quotation, and actually this music, as conceived by the highest God and handed down through a succession of teachers, is felt as a means of breaking the cycle of birth." Apart from the questionable rendering of *mārga* by "art," this is absolutely true. The doctrine that human works of art (*śilpāni*) are imitations of heavenly forms, and that by means of their rythm there can be effected a metrical reconstitution (*saṁskaraṇa*) of the limited human personality, dates at least from the Brāhmaṇa period (*Aitareya Brāhmaṇa*, VI. 27, etc.), and is implied in the Ṛgveda. "Sanskrit" itself is "constructed" (*saṁskṛtam*) in just this sense; it is something more than a merely "human" speech, and when the corresponding script is called *devanāgarī* this undoubtedly implies that the human script is an imitation of means of communication in the "city of the Gods".

Since the Ṛgveda has to do only with what is incessant (*nityam*), it is evident that all its terms are symbols rather than signs, and must be understood in their transfigured senses. Now the word *mārga*, rendered above by "highway" derives from *mṛg*, to chase, or hunt, especially by tracking.[6] In the Ṛgveda it is familiar that what one hunts and tracks by its spoor is always the deity, the hidden light, the occulted Sun or Agni, who must be found, and is sometimes referred to as lurking in his lair. This is so well known that a very few citations will suffice. In *RV.*, VIII. 2. 6, men are said to pursue (*mṛgayante*) Indra, as one pursues a wild beast (*mṛgaṁ na*), with offerings of milk and kine (which may be compared to bait); in *RV.*, VII. 87. 6, Varuṇa is compared to a "fierce beast" (*mṛgaś tuviṣmān*); in *RV.*, X. 46. 2 the Bhṛgus, eager seekers after Agni, track him by his spoor (*padaiḥ*) like some lost beast (*paśun na naṣṭam*). *Mārga* is then the creature's

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[6] *Mṛga* is "deer," but in the Old English sense of "four-footed game," without necessary reference to the Cervidæ; a usage that survives in the expression "small deer". The relation of *mṛga*, animal, to *mṛg*, to hunt, may be compared to that of our "fowl" to "fowling".

"runway," the "track to be followed" (*padavīya*) by the *vestigium pedis.* One sees thus clearly what values are implied in the expression *mārga,* "Way," and how inevitably that which is *mārga* is likewise *vimukti-da,* since it is precisely by the finding of the Hidden Light that liberation is effected.[7]

*Deśī,* on the other hand, deriving from *diś,* to "indicate," and hence *diś,* "region" or "quarter," is "local"; *cf. deśaṁ niviś,* to "settle" in a given locality, *deśa vyavahāra* or *deśâcāra,* "local custom," "way of the world," and *deśya,* "native". But these are not merely terms that could be derogatively employed by city people or courtiers to countrymen in general, but that could be employed by dwellers in the City of God or in any Holy Land with reference to those beyond the pale. Heaven lies "beyond the falcon," the worlds are "under the Sun," and "in the power of death": *loka,* "world," is etymologically Lat. *locus,* a place defined by given conditions; and *laukika,* "mundane" is literally "local"; it is precisely here (*iha*) in the worlds that the kindreds are "settled,"

[7] It may be noted that *pada* as a "word" or "phrase" is a naturally developed meaning, all formal language being a trace of the unspoken Word,—"the lovely tokens (*lakṣmīḥ*) are inherent in the seers' speech," *RV.,* X. 71. 2. In casual conversation, worldly speech, on the other hand, there is nothing more than a literal indication of perceptions, and only the estimative understanding is involved. This distinction in the verbal field corresponds to that of *mārga* from *deśi* dancing, the former having an intelligible theme, and embodying more than literal meanings, as is implied by the word *vyañjana.* The one kind of communication is formal (ideally informed) and intellectual, the other informal and sensitive: "Were it not for Intellect, the Word would babble incoherently" (*ŚB.,* III. 2. 4. 11). It is from this point of view, and only accidentally geographically, that Sanskrit is distinguished from the vernaculars (*deśī bhāṣā*), of which one may say that *Apabhraṁśa* is most of all a "byway" or "devious" and non-significant (*avyakta*) manner of communication, and that such as *Braj Bhāṣā* or Tamil are *deśī* in the geographical sense only. In the same way one may say that all sacred languages, employed in the transmission of traditional doctrines, are "highway" and that languages designed or employed for purely practical purposes (Esperanto would be a good example) are "byway" tongues.

"localised," and "native". From the celestial or solar point of view, *deśī* is thus mundane, human and devious as distinct from supermundane, divine and direct; and this distinction of *mārga* (= *svargya*) from *deśī* as sacred from profane is in full agreement with the sense of the expressions *rañjaka* (pleasing, impassioning, affecting, etc.) and *vṛthā* (wanton, random, "as you like," etc.) by which the value of *deśī* has been explained above.

If now we consider the terrestrial analogy, then looking at the matter from the Brahmans' point of view (who are "gods on earth"), whatever is geographically and qualitatively removed from an orthodox centre, from a Holy Land (such as Āryāvarta) where the heavenly pattern is accurately imitated, will be at the same time geographically and spiritually "provincial"; those are pre-eminently *deśī* who are outer barbarians beyond the pale; and in this sense *deśī* is the equivalent of "heathen" or "pagan" in the primary sense of "pertaining to the heaths or wastes," as well as "pagan" in the secondary sense of worldly or sentimental (materialistic).

Highway and local or byway cultures can be pursued at one and the same time and in one and the same environment; they are not so much the cultures of ethnically different peoples or of given social strata as they are the cultures of qualitatively different kinds of people. The distinction is not nearly so much of aristocratic from peasant culture as it is one of aristocratic and peasant from bourgeois and proletarian cultures. Mughal painting, for example, even when more refined than Hindu painting, is a byway rather than a highway art; it is essentially an art of portraiture (from the *mārga* point of view, then, *asvargya*), and a "dated" art, which is as much as to say a "placed" (*deśī*) art, for we cannot logically restrict the idea of "local" to a merely spatial significance, and indeed the two commonly associated words *kāla-deśa* imply one another. From the Indian point of view, then, it is not the "primitive" but abstract art of the American Indian, or the peasant cultures of Europe or India, but rather the anti-traditional, academic, and bourgeois culture of modern

Europe, and the proletarian culture of Soviet Russia, that can properly be called a devious and "byway" culture, "not heavenward leading".

A traditional must not be confused with an academic or merely fashionable art; tradition is not a mere stylistic fixation, nor merely a matter of general suffrage. A traditional art has fixed ends and ascertained means of operation, has been transmitted in pupillary succession from an immemorial past, and retains its values even when, as at the present day, it has gone quite out of fashion. Hieratic and folk arts are both alike traditional (*smārta*). An acamedic art, on the other hand, however great its prestige, and however fashionable it may be, can very well be and is usually of an anti-traditional, personal, profane, and sentimental sort.

We think it has now been made sufficiently clear that the distinction of *mārga* from *deśī* is not a distinction of aristocratic and cultivated from folk and primitive art, but one of sacred and traditional from profane and sentimental art.

## II.

We may then very well ask what is the true nature of folk and peasant art, and whether such an art differs from that of the *kavi* and *acārya* in any other way than in degree of refinement. In traditional and unanimous societies we observe that no hard and fast line can be drawn between the arts that appeal to the peasant and those that appeal to the lord; both live in what is essentially the same way, but on a different scale. The distinctions are of refinement and luxury, but not of content or style; in other words the differences are measurable in terms of material value, but are neither spiritual nor psychological. The attempt to distinguish aristocratic from popular motifs in traditional literature is fallacious; all traditional art is a folk art in the sense that it is the art of a unanimous people (*jana*). As Professor Child has remarked in connection with the history of Ballads, "The condition of society in which a truly national and popular poetry appears ....(is one) in which the people are not divided by political

organisations and book-culture into marked distinct classes;[8] in which, consequently, there is such community of ideas and feelings that the whole people form one individual."

It is only because we regard these problems from the narrow standpoint of present circumstances that we fail to grasp this condition. In a democratic society, where all men are theoretically equal, what exists in fact is a distinction between a bourgeois culture on the one hand and the ignorance of the uncultured masses on the other, notwithstanding that both classes may be literate. Here there is no such thing as a "folk" (*jana*), for the proletariat is not a "folk," but comparable rather to the outcaste (*candāla*) than to a fourth estate (*śūdra*); the sacerdotal (*Brāhmaṇa*) and chivalrous (*kṣatriya*) classes are virtually lacking (men are so much alike that these functions can be exercised by *anyone* (the newsboy, for example, becoming a President), and the bourgeoisie (*vaiṣya*) is (assimilated) to the proletarian (*candāla*) masses, to form what is in effect an unanimously profane "herd" (*paśu*) whose conduct is governed only by likes and dislikes, and not by any higher principles.[9] Here the distinction of "educated" from "uneducated" is merely technical; it is no longer one of degrees of consciousness, but of more or less information. Under these conditions the distinction of literacy from illiteracy has a value altogether different from its value in traditional societies in which the whole folk, at the same time that it is culturally unanimous, is functionally differentiated;

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[8] It need hardly be pointed out that a caste or feudal organisation of society is no more a division in this sense than is the complex organisation of the physical body the mark of a disintegrated personality.

[9] A condition of the individual can be imagined that is superior to caste; an absolute *pramāṇa*, for example, is predicated of deity, for whom no function (*dharma*) is too high or too low. The democratic condition, on the other hand, is not of this nature, but *inferior* to caste, alike from a spiritual and from an economic point of view; for as Plato has expressed it, "More will be done, and better done, and with more ease, when everyone does but one thing, according to his genius; and this is justice to each man as he is in himself.',

literacy, in the latter case, being quite unnecessary to some functions, where moreover its absence does not constitute a privation, since other means than books exist for the communication and transmission of spiritual values; and, further, under these circumstances, the function itself (*svadharma*), however "menial" or "commercial," is strictly speaking a "way" (*mārga*), so that it is not by engaging in other work to which a higher or lower social prestige may attach, but to the extent that a man approaches perfection in his own work and understands its spiritual significance, that he can *rise above himself*,—an ambition to *rise above his fellows* having then no longer any real meaning.

In democratic societies, then, where proletarian and profane (*i.e.*, ignorant) values prevail, there arises a real distinction of what is optimistically called "learning" or "science" on the part of the educated classes from the ignorance of the masses; and this distinction is measured by standards, not of profundity, but of literacy, in the simple sense of ability to read the printed word. In case there survives any residue of a true peasantry (as is still the case in Europe, but scarcely in America), or when it is a question of the "primitive" culture of other races, or even of traditional scriptures and metaphysical traditions that are of anything but popular origin, the "superstitions" involved (we shall presently see what is really implied by this very apt term) are confounded with the "ignorance" of the masses, and studied only with a condescending lack of understanding.

How perverse a situation is thus created can be seen when we realise that where the thread of symbolic and initiatory teaching has been broken at higher social levels (and modern education, whether in India or elsewhere has precisely, and very often intentionally, this destructive effect), it is just the "superstitions" of the people and what is apparently irrational in religious doctrine that has preserved what would otherwise have been lost. When the bourgeois culture of the universities has thus declined to levels of purely empirical and factual information, then it is precisely and only in the

superstitions of the peasantry, wherever these have been strong enough to resist the subversive efforts of the educators, that there survives a genuinely human, and often indeed a superhuman wisdom, however unconscious, and however fragmentary and naive may be the form in which it is expressed. There is, for example, a wisdom in traditional fairy tales (not of course, in those which have been written by "literary" men "for children") that is altogether different in kind from such psychological sense or nonsense as may be embodied in a modern novel.

As has been very justly remarked by M. René Guénon, "The very conception of 'folklore,' as commonly understood, rests on a fundamentally false hypothesis, the supposition, *viz.*, that there really are such things as 'popular creations' or spontaneous inventions of the masses; and the connection of this point of view with the democratic prejudice is obvious. ....The folk has thus preserved, without understanding, the remains of old traditions that go back sometimes to an indeterminably distant past, to which we can only refer as 'prehistoric'." What has really been preserved in folk and fairy tales, and in popular peasant art is then by no means a body of merely childish or entertaining fables, or of crude decorative art, but a series of what are really esoteric doctrines and symbols of anything but popular invention. One may say that it is in this way, when an intellectual decadence has taken place in higher circles, that this doctrinal material is preserved from one epoch to another, affording a glimmer of light in what may be called the dark night of the intellect; the folk memory serving the purpose of a sort of ark, in which the wisdom of a former age is carried over (*tiryate*) the period of the dissolution of cultures that takes place at the close of a cycle.

It is not a question of whether or not the ultimate significance of the popular legends and folk designs is actually understood by those who relate or employ them. These problems arise in much higher circles; in literary history, for example, one is often led to ask, when we find that an epic or romantic character has been imposed on purely mythical

material (for example, in the *Mahābhārata* and *Rāmāyaṇa*, and in the European recensions of the Grail and other Celtic material), how far has the author really understood his material? The point that we want to bring out is that the folk material, regardless of our actual qualifications in relation to it, is actually of an essentially *mārga* and not a *deśī* character, and actually intelligible at levels of reference that are far above and by no means inferior to those of our ordinary contemporary "learning". It is not at all shocking that this material should have been transmitted by peasants for whom it forms a part of their lives, a nourishment of their very constitution, but who cannot explain; it is not at all shocking that the folk material can be described as a body of "superstition," since it is really a body of custom and belief that "stands over" (*superstat*) from a time when its meanings were understood. Had the folk beliefs not indeed been once understood, we could not now speak of them as metaphysically intelligible, or explain the accuracy of their formulation. The peasant may be unconscious and unaware, but that of which he is unconscious and unaware is in itself far superior to the empirical science and realistic art of the "educated" man, whose real ignorance is demonstrated by the fact that he studies and compares the data of folklore and "mythology" without any more than the most ignorant peasant suspecting their real significance.

All that has been said above applies, of course, with even greater force to the *śruti* literature and above all the Ṛgveda, which so far from representing an intellectually barbarous age (as some pretend) has references so far abstract and remote from historical and empirical levels as to have become almost unintelligible to those whose intellectual capacities have been inhibited by what is nowadays called a "university education". It is a matter at the same time of faith and understanding: the injunctions *Crede ut intelligas* and *Intellige ut credas* ("Believe, that you may understand," and "Understand, in order to believe") are valid in both cases, *i.e.*, whether we are concerned with the interpretation of folklore or with that of the transmitted texts.

# THE NOTION OF DIFFERENCE IN DVAITA*

BY M. A. VENKATA RAO, M.A.

THE dialectical refutation of the idea of difference is an integral part of the Buddhist *Śūnyavāda* and Advaita though it subserves very different ends in the two systems. A great wealth of distinctions has emerged in the process, beside which the Bradleyan dialectic looks elementary. The opponents of Advaita within the fold of Vedanta have given battle in defence of the world of difference with weapons of analysis equally acute and thoroughgoing. This paper attempts a brief summary of the defence of the idea of difference given by Dvaita Vedanta. The issue runs right through the whole extent of the two systems and involves a focussing of their entire interpretation of experience. But here I confine myself to the general problem presented by the awareness of difference, सामान्यतोनिरुक्ति. Advaita does not deny the very experience of difference. It only suggests that it cannot be ultimately true. It is अनुभवसिद्ध but certainly not प्रमाणसिद्ध. Dvaita examines this contention of Advaita and maintains that it is perfectly intelligible and carries the war into the enemies' country to point out that the idea of non-difference is in no better case.

*Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍakhādya* considers four alternative presentations of the idea of difference and urges that all of them are riddled with contradictions. Difference may be (1) *Svarūpa* or essence of a thing, (2) *Anyonyābhāva* or mutual negation, (3) *Vaidharmya*, having contrary attributes, (4) or anything else. In the last resort they can be reduced to the alternatives of (1) substantival essence, (2) a relation of exclusion, (3) or a quality. Difference is ultimately unintelligible on any of

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these definitions and since it somehow appears to consciousness, it can only be accounted for as a self-discrepant illusion, अनाद्यविद्याविलास the play of beginningless nescience. The attack and defence can conveniently be divided into three main divisions: (1) psychological, (2) epistemological and (3) ontological. Of course the division is not clear-cut and is adopted only for convenience of exposition.

### Psychological

If difference is a reality, it must be capable of being perceived by the well-known sources of knowledge. According to Advaita, the instruments of right cognition are six—scripture, perception, inference, analogy, postulation, and presumption from non-existence. Except scripture all the rest depend upon perception and so cannot carry greater weight than their source. Advaita interprets scripture in the sense of pure identity and if the world of difference can be shown to be an interpretation not solely due to perception, the problem is solved. This is in fact the procedure we find adopted. The problem of perception of the psychological side is analysed into the following alternatives :—

1. Do we apprehend difference alone in a single act ?
2. Or do we apprehend difference along with its ground ?
3. If we apprehend it along with the term, do we grasp them successively in either order ?
4. Or do we become aware of them in a single act ?

This scheme of questions is found practically in the same words in *Iṣṭasiddhi*, *Nyāyamakaranda*, and the *Citsukhī* and seems to be very old and pre-advaitic. Madhva states these standard distinctions as a basis for refutation. The assumption underlying the scheme is psychological. It is held that perception functions in distinct moments and therefore can grasp only distinct items in isolation. All relation is therefore the contribution of the mind and must be a subjective appearance. This position is familiar in modern philosophy as the source of the scepticism and phenomenalism of Hume and Kant. In Indian philosophy it is the legacy of Buddhism

and remains as an important plank in the advaitic critique of the world. If perception can grasp only momentary entities, we cannot apprehend difference in isolation, for difference implies at least two terms held together in a single relation. We cannot apprehend term and difference successively, for it is held that perception cannot function across an interval विरम्य व्यापारायोगात्. Continuity is therefore not given but ascribed to the object. Ānandabodha quotes the Buddhist doctrine of momentariness, criticises the razor-edge character of time therein and approves of the saddle-back theory of an appreciable breadth. But the epistemological conclusion is retained that perception can grasp only single items in isolation. Just as memory bridges the gap between the presented entity and the unpresented, he urges, the gap between two perceptions within the focus of perception must be assumed to be bridged by a psychical factor other than perception. The same principle disposes of the fourth possibility that both terms and difference are grasped simultaneously.

### The Dvaita Answer

Now Dvaita replies by making a distinction between act of mind and content of apprehension. Madhva points out in *Tattvanirṇaya* that the mind can grasp both the terms and the difference between them in a single flash, for though the mental act subsists only for a moment, it can grasp a vast area of the objective field. We see thousands of lamps at a glance यथा युगपदेव दीपसहस्रदर्शने सामान्यतः सर्वे ज्ञायन्त एव तथा स्यात् (pp. 261, Śravanamoola.) For Dvaita also the minimum sensibile of experienced time is no razor-edge but a saddle-back. Whatever may be the psychological nature of the act there is no reason to suppose that its fleeting character precludes presentation of the manifold as such. This part of the ground reminds the modern reader of the three-fold synthesis of apprehension of imagination and of the object in Kant and of the Hegelian critique of phenomenalism.

If simultaneity is not accepted we shall have to account for the emergence of difference by means of a distinction

between two levels of perception *Savikalpaka* and *Nirvikalpaka*. But as the *Citsukhī* points out, the device does not serve the purpose, for there still remains a *māyābhēda*, the two levels exhibiting two distinct contents. Something that was not apprehended in the first act is apprehended in the second act. So we have not found a *single act grasping a manifold*. Dvaita does not resort to this solution of the problem. For it there is no undifferentiated presentation at all. The utterly identical with no shade of discriminated content is a myth. In this matter, Dvaita is one with the Hegelian Logic: "....the positive on the other hand is what is self-identical but with the mark of antithesis to another."

### Epistemological

Difference may be regarded as a quality, a peculiar relation of mutual exclusion *anyonyābhāva* or as identical with the ground of difference itself. The last is the view of Dvaita. The first two seem to be associated with the *Bhāṭṭas* and the *Naiyāyikas*. Dvaita interprets *anyonyābhāva* as *dharmi svarūpa* itself and not as a relation implying its opposite *tādātmīya* or self-identity.

### Difference as Dharma or Quality

The *Citsukhī* sums up the objections to this view in a convenient stanza.

युगपद्ग्रहणायोगादनवस्था प्रसंगतः ।
परस्पराश्रयत्वाच्च धर्मभेदेऽपि नाक्षधीः ॥

The relation between subject and predicate may be held to be that of substance and attribute विशेष्य-विशेषण as the *Bhāṭṭas* do or that of a peculiar constitutive relation *samavāya* as the *Naiyāyikas* do. But both types of relation involve a diversity of aspects not open to simultaneous apprehension. The idea of the one depends upon the idea of the other. The knowledge of the 'qualified substance' requires a prior knowledge of the two component elements separately. Both the instances Daṇḍi-Devadattaḥ (Devadatta with the staff) and the white substance are open to this objection and lead to an infinite

regress. Dvaita does not hold this theory of the nature of difference as attribute and hence is not open to this series of objections. It has its own view of the relation involved which we shall refer to in the last section of the paper.

### Difference as the Thing Itself (*Dharmi Svarūpa*)

According to the Dvaita school, difference is the ground itself though it requires for its apprehension a reference to other terms. The Advaitic criticism of this view is summed up in the following stanza of *Citsukhī*—

सापेक्षत्वात् सावधेश्च तत्वेऽद्वैतप्रसंगतः ।
एकाभावात् असन्देहात् न रूपं वस्तुनो भिदा ॥

Srinivasatīrtha in his gloss on Vyāsatīrtha's Commentary on Madhva's Commentary on *Taittirīya Upaniṣad* quotes this stanza and proceeds to a fairly elaborate discourse on the status of difference. The first criticism is *anyonyāśraya* or mutual dependence. If difference is identical with the term, it should not require reference to any thing else for its intelligibility. If A's difference from B is identical with A itself, it should not presuppose a knowledge of B. The moment we hear of A we should *ipso facto* grasp its difference from B. But such is not our experience. We do not use A and A's difference from other things as synonyms. To this objection Madhva answers that it is a relational identity *Saviśeṣa bheda.* He maintains that the fallacy of mutual presupposition does not arise, because the grasp is simultaneous. The difficulty is spurious and arises from a faulty psychology. Further, in *Tattvanirṇaya* he points out that the apprehension of anything whatever involves necessarily an apprehension of its distinction from everything else.

प्रायः सर्वतो विलक्षणं हि पदार्थस्वरूपं दृश्यते....यदि न स्वरूपं भेदस्तदा पदार्थे दृष्टे प्रायः सर्वतोवैलक्षण्यं तस्य न ज्ञायेत ।

This move is in striking conformity with some of the characteristic utterances of Hegel. Difference is born at one birth with the entity, for it is nothing other than itself. Everything bears the stamp of otherness upon it. Absolute identity

is unthinkable. So of course is absolute difference. Dvaita makes full room for the relational continuity of the universe. The system of relations revealed in experience, cause and effect, substance and quality, etc., are accepted as part of the real order of the universe. It only denies complete identity whether at the empirical or at the ultimate levels. The last count in the *Citsukhī* stanza असंदेहात् expresses a doubt that naturally arises in this connection. If the apprehension of a thing is at the same time an apprehension of its difference from everything else as is claimed by Dvaita, we ought to attain omniscience with the bit of knowledge we acquire in life. The baby's cry on entering the world must on this supposition constitute the final perfection of knowledge. There should be no room for doubt or misconception. Such important thinkers as Ānandabodha and Citsukhācārya repeat this criticism. Madhva, as usual, replies by a distinction between general and specific knowledge. When we know anything it is true that we know its difference from everything else. But this knowledge is pitifully meagre and vague. If this is enough to constitute omniscience, every living thing (प्राणभृन्मात्र) possesses it. Omniscience ought to mean much more. It implies an infinity of detail and the uttermost specificity. For Dvaita, knowledge does not proceed from zero to omniscience cancelling the world *en voyage*. It proceeds from a vague whole, a big booming confusion we might say, though in this system it is not all confusion. One thing is clear but the rest of the world is vaguely grasped. Madhva points out that doubt is not universal in direction and omnivorous in its hunger. We do not doubt all things. Doubts such as 'Am I a pot or a man' does not arise to any sane person. अज्ञाते च वैलक्षण्ये आत्मनि घट इत्यपि संशयः स्यात्. Doubt arises on the ground of certainty and runs in a specific direction within the limitations of certain alternatives. The upstanding object in the dusk shuts out the rest of the universe and limits the scope of the doubt to man or pest stump. There is both identity and difference in the experience. This answer is perhaps sufficient in principle against the objection of mutual

presupposition that is urged against the mutual reference of term and relation. In essence it is the same line that is taken in the idealist critique of empiricism.

Both Ānandabodha and Citsukhācārya urge that the ideas of term and difference involve the fallacy of mutual dependence or circularity. They admit mutual dependence is a fallacy only if the very first link in the chain is not independently established in experience, like the relation of seed and plant. But they urge that these ideas are not intelligible without each other and the series cannot get started at all. Hence they are destructive of their source (मूलक्षयकरी)—like two people carrying each other or the proposal of the Orkeney Islanders to maintain themselves by taking in each other's washing. Dvaita points out that experience is not in such a plight, for experience does not start with elements in isolation but with a presentation continuum, it may be said, in modern terms. Further, it is also pointed out that what may be called the psychological order of perception need not correspond to the nature of the object. We may run our eye over a landscape in a particular order without entailing a similar order in the actual structure of things. Vyāsatīrtha the author of *Nyāyāmṛta* (to which Advaita Siddhi is a reply), compares this procedure to that of the police who sometimes lighten their burdens by substituting a scapegoat *Māṇḍavya* in the place of the real culprit. चोरापराधात् मांडव्यस्य शूलप्राप्तिवत् प्रतीतिगतेन अन्योन्याश्रयेण प्रमात्वनिषेधायोगात्—*Nyāyāmṛta* [p. 548 (*a*), Kumbakonam Edition]. Of course this justification refers only to the psychological accidents involved in the process of knowing. Epistemologically Dvaita is a form of direct realism which assumes a pre-established harmony between mind and the nature of things. Knowledge is यथार्थज्ञान, awareness of things as they really are.

Now we come to the nerve of the attack against difference in particular and the external world in general. It appears with trenchant force in *Khaṇḍanakhaṇḍa Khādya*, *Nyāya Makaranda* and *Citsukhī*, etc., and is repeated in all later

Advaita. Advaita offers a dilemma to the defenders of difference particularly to those who hold that it is the essence of the term itself *dharmi svarūpa*. Either A's difference from B is an absolute entity synonymous with A, in which case the origin of the notion in experience becomes inscrutable,—or, A's difference from B involves an essential relation to the correlative B, in which case, the nature of B enters into the nature of A. In the former case the very idea of difference is inexplicable. On the latter alternative, the other term *pratiyogin* becomes an essential part of the definition of A, which ultimately leads to the complete identity of all terms, *sarva tādātmyāpatti*. Difference becomes an internal relation and, far from limiting off objects from each other, involves everything in universal relativity. Extreme monism is the result. This is of course the general idealistic dialectic true to type but the conclusions that emerge therefrom are unique and have no perfect parallel in the West.

Dvaita is aware of the full force of the analysis and offers a constructive dialectic in its place. The system as usual begins by making distinctions. From the standpoint of epistemology, it holds that a distinction should be made between internal and external relations. The most general relation is that of *nirūpaka* and *nirūpya* the determinander and the determinable. All relations need not be *svarūpa sambandha*. Every determinable need not be an adjective or attribute. Very often the difference of an entity from all other things can be brought home to us not by anything that enters vitally into its nature but by an extrinsic accompaniment. Sometimes it may be enough to point to a house as the house with the crow sitting on it. But the difference from the crow is in the house and is nothing other than its nature ; it cannot be said that the crow's nature is an adjective of the house or of its owner. When we ask some one to bring the long-eared cow, the cow and the ear are understood to be internally related and are usually found inseparable. But when we ask for the owner of the particoloured cow, we do not desire that the man should be presented with the cow.

Nor do we expect the citizen of Kāśī to carry his city with him wherever he goes.

Further, Madhva makes an additional distinction that largely turns the edge of the destructive critique. He points out that A's difference from B is in A, and is uniquely identical with A. B's nature does not enter into it, for B's difference from A is not at all the same as A's difference from B. In the proposition A is older than B, A's difference from B dwells in him and constitutes his nature as the elder in relation to B. But B's difference cannot be the same at all, for it dwells in him and constitutes a different nature, *viz.*, being younger than A. Now, the ideas older than B and younger than A cannot be regarded as identical.

न च घटाद्वैलक्षण्यमेव पटाद्वैलक्षण्यं । अनुभवविरोधात्

(*Tattvanirṇaya.*)

Hence even in the two-term relation of difference, there are two distinct differences involved, for there are two natures and from a comparative standpoint they are mutually non-transferable. It follows therefore that B's difference does not characterise A directly in the manner of a quality nor *vice versa.* The fallacy arises from reducing all relations to attributes and from regarding difference as a relation. Difference is not a relation but the terms themselves. A is A and B is B and out of this situation arises the experience of difference. Difference is not regarded as a third entity requiring to be attached somehow to the terms, which view inevitably leads to an infinite regress.

Metaphysically, the Dvaita puts terms and difference on the same level. Vyāsatīrtha, the author of *Nyāyāmṛta*, makes effective use of this principle in his little book *Bhedojjīvana*, which means the resuscitation of difference, under the name of *dharmisattā-samāna-sattāka.* He formulates the principle, whether for the first time I cannot say, that difference has the same ontological status as the ground thereof. Brahman's difference from the world is as true as Brahman. The finite individual's difference from Brahman is as true as the individual which will perhaps be admitted by Advaita

in a very different sense. Madhva in his *Taittirīya Bhāshya* follows out the principle even to the extreme instances of differences of non-existents to existents and *vice versa* as well as the mutual relations of non-existents among themselves. The difference of an existent from a non-existent shares the existential status of the *anuyogin* or ground. We may with meaning frame the proposition, 'the cow's horns are different from those of a hare'. This is possible because difference is not a relation though it implies the whole range of factual relations in the universe; if it were, in such propositions one end of it would have to touch unreality.

To Dvaita therefore that a thing is different from another is not necessarily an adjective of the other. It may no doubt be said that everything makes a difference to everything else. But it follows from the network of causal efficacy and the interlocked nature of the universe flowing from its unitary source. The metaphysical implication of this will be indicated in the last section of the paper. Here it is enough to point out that for Dvaita, there are two levels of relatedness, the foundational one in which everything is pervaded by one supreme spirit and therefore conforms to one plan of interaction, and the secondary level in which there is an infinite variety of specific situations and specific individualities which retain their nature within certain limits and so long as they do so, there are certain relations which make no difference to their nature and therefore may be regarded as external. The mere existence of another somewhere in the universe is enough for the notion of difference to emerge and it is a misnomer to call it an adjective of the first.

Now for the second dilemma or second horn of the dilemma. This is framed through the linguistic approach and is refuted through the same weapon. Now difference is *vidāraṇa* or differentiation. If the term A is said to be of the nature of differentiation, we have to look for two elements within the nature of A which are held apart by this peculiar differentiation. Thus A splits into two entities $\frac{1}{2}$ A and $\frac{1}{2}$ A. And since each of them again harbour differentiation within themselves, for

difference is defined as their essence, they must also undergo self-division. This process can end only in utter nihilism. As the *Citsukhī* puts it *ekābhāvāt* (एकाभावात्). There will will be no unitary entity and if unities do not exist, of course, their totality *anekatva* also cannot exist. Hence nihilism is inescapable. These dialecticians are fond of concluding the *prima facie* views with expressions like अविचारितरमणीय, मन्दमतिसन्तोष, आपातसुन्दरं, etc. Madhva exclaims after stating this argument अद्भुत, आश्चर्य, sublime and wonderful: and proceeds to pull it to pieces. Differentiation can mean two things. It may mean the act of differentiation which separates A from B as with a hatchet. If this is the only possible meaning, the nihilist conclusion may perhaps follow; but surely this is not the usual meaning of the proposition A is different from B. It indicates no internal division within A at all. It rather points to the fact that B falls outside the boundary of A. The differentiated object falls outside the boundary of the ground term.

प्रतियोगिनो हि भेदोयं नतु स्वस्मात् कथंचन ।

(*Anuvyākhyāna.*)

The word *bhidā* no doubt is derived from *bhid* which means splitting, but it means both the *act of differentiation* by means of weapons and the simple *fact of being separate entities.*

विदारणार्थो धातुश्च विभागगुणवाचकः ।
अविदारणेपि ह्यास्यस्य भिन्नावोष्ठौ च तस्य च ॥

(*Anuvyākhyāna.*)

It is in the latter sense that we speak of difference between things.

Further, even granting that the act of differentiation is meant by difference, Madhva urges that there can be no ultimate destruction of reality. We may divide things into ever so small elements but the total quantum of reality must remain the same. Subtilty no doubt results but from subtilty to nihilism is a far cry. If not, by putting together these no-things we should be able to re-create the world.

विभागेनाल्पतैव स्यात् कुत एव तु शून्यता ।

(*Anuvyākhyāna.*)

Thus the dilemma of *Advaitāpatti* or *Śūnyatāpatti* is refuted by grasping the horns.

### Metaphysical Background

From every point of view the two systems are polar opposites. Though they profess to be interpretations of scripture, in giving battle to each other they cover the whole ground of philosophy, metaphysics and logic, psychology and epistemology, social morality and religion and have something very definite to say on every important problem. The notion of difference concentrates in itself the opposition of the systems in all their aspects and reveals their metaphysical motives in a striking manner. Advaita is a philosophy of pure identity. It suffers no difference. The whole world of plurality is set down as an elaborate illusion. On the other hand Dvaita is a philosophy of difference. To it difference is the sign-manual of reality and the bearer of value. Pure identity as well as pure difference are both unthinkable. For example, the notion of difference involves both elements. It is *dharmi svarūpa*, the nature of the ground itself; its relation to its ground is identity or non-difference, but it has a reference to other entities, though this reference does not swallow its individuality. Both identity and difference are real aspects of reality. It is therefore truer to characterise Dvaita as the philosophy of Organism.

Throughout the critique of difference in the standard works of Advaita there runs the assumption that terms and relations cannot co-exist together. Dvaita has a more synthetic outlook. Substance is regarded as something more than a meeting point of relations and quite capable of reacting on others. It upholds an organic unity of which universal relativity is an aspect.

The vital nerve of the Advaitic critique consists of a presentation of the central contradiction of identity in difference. Dvaita recognises this situation but its reaction to it is different.

Advaita tries to get out of it by denying the reality of both and postulating a universal consciousness at the back of the self-discrepant illusion we call the world. Dvaita adopts the plan of accepting both identity and difference as real and postulates a creative power in all existent things from Brahman to the blade of grass, a power that leaps across the contradiction. It is called the principle of *Viśeṣa*. In this reference, it does not mean *viśeṣaṇa* or adjective. It is a metaphysical category which stands for the principle of organic unity in reality.

Wherever there is diversity of aspects on the ground of indivisible unity, we have *viśēṣa*. In Brahman there are Truth, Knowledge and Joy unalloyed. These aspects are not synonymous but their identity does not entail an internal differentiation *svagatabheda*. This idea of *viśeṣa* suggests the Hegelian notion of 'moments' which warp each other but are distinguishable in functioning. In interpreting the same utterance of the Upaniṣads Advaita offers the theory of *Akhaṇḍārtha* or pure identity without any suggestion of difference in Brahman. Finally both admit an ultimate mystery but they put it in different places. In Advaita the mystery is why a world that never was, is, or will be, should appear at all. In Dvaita the mystery lies in the fact of individuation without redemption of nature. There is a great difference between the two. Both are systems of idealism for both uphold an infinite consciousness, but Advaita is pure idealism, denying all otherness; whereas Dvaita is a concrete idealism accepting otherness as essential to the nature of reality. As for the 'Dualism,' which we meet with in current criticism I have not met with it in the works of the school.

# A SHORT ACCOUNT OF THE DAMIḶAS

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Scholars are grateful to the labours of Kanakasabhai Pillai, Krishnaswami Aiyangar, Burnell, Debreuil, Lorenzo, Barnett, Slater, Dikshitar, Saletore and others who have done a great service to South Indian history by their invaluable researches. Here we have attempted for the first time to furnish an account of the Damiḷas as far as can be gathered from the Buddhist books. The word 'Dravidian' comes from an ethnic name Drāviḍa or Dramiḍa or Damiḷa. The Damiḷas commonly known as the Tamils were a powerful South Indian tribe. They were a warlike people. They had two settlements on both sides of the Ganges (Sīhala-Gaṅgā) as it is apparent from the Pali chronicles. It is interesting to note that a Vinaya commentary called *Vimativinodanī* was written by Kassapa Thera who was an inhabitant of the kingdom of Damiḷa (*Sāsanavaṁsa*, p. 33). The Damiḷas were disrespectful to the Buddhist thūpas (*Mahāvaṁsa-Tikā*, p. 447).

The island of Laṅkā was troubled very much by the Damiḷas who became very turbulent. Duṭṭhagāmaṇi, a powerful king of Ceylon, fought with the Damiḷas (*MT.*, p. 24), killed many of them (*Ibid.*, p. 489), and afterwards brought them under control (*Ibid.*, pp. 100, 437). He decided to drive the Damiḷas out of the island of Laṅkā. With this object in view, he marched with a mighty army against them and inflicted a crushing defeat on them (*cf. Thūpavaṁsa*, *vide* my *History of Pali Literature*, p. 577). He conquered them once again on the other side of the Ganges (in Ceylon) and stayed for four months in a city called Mahāgāmaṇi (*Ibid.*, p. 476). Another powerful king of Ceylon, Duṭṭhagāmaṇi Abhaya, after defeating thirty-two Damiḷa kings and having obtained coronation at Anurādhapura did not sleep for a month on account of great delight (*Sumaṅgalavilāsinī*, p. 640). He, who himself was a great warrior, accompanied by ten great heroes, fought

with the Damiḷa king named Eḷāra and became victorious (*Mahābodhivaṁśa*, p. 133). He again defeated the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built the golden cetiya and worshipped it (*Thūpavaṁśa*, p. 59). He fought with them and captured a Damiḷa named Catta, besides many other Damiḷas, *e.g.*, Mahākoṭṭah, Gavara, Tāla, Bhanaka and Gāmaṇi. Many Damiḷas were also killed by Veḷusumanano (*Thūpavaṁśa*, p. 60). Duṭṭhagāmaṇi became the undisputed ruler of Ceylon after defeating the thirty-two Damiḷa kings and freed the island from foreign domination (*Thūpa.*, p. 63). King Kākavaṇṇa Tissa also fought with the Damiḷas at Mahiyaṅgana where he built a golden thūpa. (*Thūpa.*, p. 58). In order to put a check on the Damiḷas he kept guards at the forts of the Mahāgaṅgā (*MT.*, p. 448). It so happened that once they escaped death by taking shelter in a city called Vijitanagara (*Ibid.*, p. 475). The Damiḷas put up a fight with Veḷusumana but they were slain in large numbers (*Ibid.*, p. 475). A Damiḷa named Giriya was killed in a fight (*Ibid.*, p. 479). The Damiḷas then entered the city conquered by Tissa and fought with the frontier king of Koḷambāḷaka. King Paṇḍukābhaya promised to get back his kingdom by destroying the Damiḷas (*Ibid.*, p. 614). Anurādhapura was for sometime under the rule of some Damiḷas (*MT.*, p. 616). A Damiḷa named Puḷahattha ruled this city for three years and appointed a Damiḷa named Bāhiya as his commander (*MT.*, p. 617). A Damiḷa named Dāṭhika was killed and lost his sovereignty at Anurādhapura (*Mv.*, Chap. XXXIII). Having conquered king Suratissa, the two Damiḷas, Sena and Gutta, ruled the island of Laṅkā for twenty-two years (*Dīp.*, p. 99 ; *cf. Mv.*, Chap. XXI). Abhaya, son of Siddhātissa, killed a Damiḷa named Sāthika (*Dīp.*, p. 101). The island of Laṅkā was ruled by five Damiḷa kings for fourteen years and seven months, by Vaṭṭhagāmaṇi after killing Damiḷa Dāṭhika (*Dīp.*, V, p. 103) and by Damiḷa Paṇḍu, after killing Mittasena (*Cūḷavaṁśa*, p. 22). We further notice that the two Damiḷas named Piṭhiya and Rājamittaka were killed in a fight (*Ibid.*, p. 24). The Damiḷas were again killed by Māna (*Ibid.*, p. 71). They were defeated and slain by Kulaṣekhara (*Ibid.*, tr., p. 78). The stronghold,

Semponmāri, was conquered after defeating the Damiḷas (*Ibid.*, tr., p. 85). A Damiḷa general named Āriyacakkavattī, was a dignitary of great power. He laid waste the kingdom of Ceylon, entered the proud stronghold, the town of Subhagiri. He seized all the sacred treasures including the sacred tooth relic and returned with them to the Paṇḍu kingdom (*Ibid.*, tr., p. 204).

Anulā who was enamoured of Damiḷa Vaṭuka, killed Siva with poison and gave the reign to Vaṭuka who made Anulā his queen. Anulā afterwards killed Vaṭuka when she fell in love with a woodcutter named Tissa. She again fell in love with a Damiḷa named Niliya, killed the woodcutter and gave the sovereignty to Niliya who was also killed by her (*MT.*, p. 626).

A careful study of the Buddhist texts shows that the Damiḷas were a fighting people always engaged in constant strifes with the Sinhalese. They are described as *anariyā* or uncultured. "Might is right" was their policy which they rigidly followed with the result that they were defeated and mercilessly massacred in almost all their battles with the Sinhalese as we read in the *Mahāvaṁśa Commentary* (p. 482) that the Damiḷas were killed in so large a number that the water of a tank became red by coming in contact with a profuse flow of Damiḷa blood. They are said to have used red-hot iron balls and molten pitch against their enemies (*MT.*, p. 477).

The literary tradition of Ceylon does not clearly say as to who these Damiḷa invaders were or from which part of India they came over to Ceylon. It is only in connection with a particular Damiḷa general, we are told, that he returned with all booties to the Paṇḍu country, the land of the Paṇḍyas in the south. If anything substantial can really be built on this meagre fact, it would be that the Damiḷas who made excursions into the island of Laṅkā from time to time belonged to Paṇḍya, which then occupied as it does now the southernmost part of India opposite to Ceylon. The said tradition leaves us entirely in the dark as to whether those Damiḷas were sent with expeditions by the king of Paṇḍya or they were a race of marauders who undertook those expeditions on

their own initiative. The Commentaries of *Buddhagoṣa* distinguish the Damiḷas from the Yavanas and Kirātas on the one hand and from the Andhras on the other. The relation between the Damiḷa country and Ceylon was not always inimical. The account of Vijaya distinctly brings out that there existed a matrimonial alliance between the ruler of Laṅkā and that of Paṇḍya. It is also mentioned that there was a very early settlement in Ceylon of skilled craftsmen and families of the eighteen guilds, all from Paṇḍya (*Mahāvaṁśa*, Chap. VII). There existed similarly a close cultural relationship and constant intercourse between South India and Ceylon; the notable centres of Buddhist learning mentioned in Pali works being Kāveripaṭṭaṇa, Madhurā and Kāñchipura.

# THE KATHAKA AND THE ARUṆA PRASNĀS OF THE YAJUR VEDA

By N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu, M.A., L.T.

The *Kathaka Prasna*, consisting of three sections of thirty Anuvakas and the *Aruṇa Prasna*, consisting of thirty-two Anuvakas form a separate and internally connected portion of the *Krishna Yajur Veda*. The *Yajur Veda* deals with three great rituals, *viz.*, Havir-Yagñas, Pasu-Yagñas and Cayanas. The Darsa, Purṇa-Masa, the Cātur-Masya, the Pinda-pitr-Yagña, etc., come under the first category. The Sōma Yāga, the Vājapeya, the Rājasūya, the Aśvamēdha, etc., come under the second category. The third category of rituals, known as the Cayanas, are dealt with in these two *Prasnās*, the *Kathaka* and the *Aruṇa*.

The subject-matter of the two Prasnās might thus be summarised :—

*Kathaka* :—I. 1 to 11—Savitra Cayana. 1 to 8—Mantra.
9 to 11—Brāhmaṇa.
II. 1 to 10—Naciketa Cayana. 1 to 6–Mantra.
7 to 10—Brāhmaṇa.
III. 5 Cātur-Hotriya Cayana.
6–9 Viśva-srja-Cayana.

(III. 1 to 4 deal with two subsidiary Iṣtis, Divaśyena and Apagha ; the Cātur-Hotriya Cayana alone is also dealt with in the Āraṇyakā III. 1 to 12, and the Brāhmaṇa, II. ii and iii.)

*Aruṇa* :—1 to 32—Aruṇa-Ketuka Cayana, the ritual being dealt with in 22 to 32.

A consolidated reference to all the Cayanas and their purposes is given in the *Aruṇa Prasna*, Anuvaka 22 :—

Savitra Cayana—for the realisation of Āditya.
Naciketa Cayana—for the realisation of Prāṇa.
Cātur-Hotriya-Cayana—for the realisation of Brahman.
Viśva-srja-Cayana—for the realisation of Sarira.
Aruṇa-Ketuka-Cayana—for Union with Agni.

(This Anuvaka refers to two more Cayanas, *viz.*,

Satriya-Cayana—for the realisation of Samvatśara.

Upanuvakya-Cayana—for the realisation of these Lokas.)

The *Kathaka* and the *Aruṇa Prasnās* together deal with the scheme of the manifestation of the Universe, its evolution from Brahman and the ultimate goal of life, *viz.*, union with Brahman. The first section of the *Kathaka Prasna* says that Bhāradvāja attained union with Brahman through the meditation of Savitri, as envisaged in the eight eternal and imperishable sounds denoting Āditya, the Sun, whose glory is the subject-matter of the *Aruṇa Prasna*. In Him are manifest the deities mentioned in the Vedas, Agni, Vayu, Indra, Bṛhaspati, Prajāpati, Brāhmaṇa. The four parts of the Universe, Bhu, Bhuvaḥ, Suvaḥ, Bhūr-Bhuvas-Suvah are mentioned. From Prajāpati, the Devas arose. Their splendour created Lightning and Rain. There came the Sun, the Form of the Eternal Light, Heat, Truth, Concentration, Strength and Life.

The second section of the *Kathaka Prasna* deals with the story of Naciketa, the descendant of the great Ṛṣi Gautama, related in the *Kathaka Upanishad*, in easier language. In this section, we get an account of the scheme of life in the Universe. It consists of interdependent elements, the World, leading to Svarga, through meditation and realisation, the Earth, the Sea, Fire, the Sky, the Sun, the Moon, the Stars, the Wind, the Water, the Year, the Seasons, Night and Day, the fulness and the wealth of life depending on physical, intellectual, moral and spiritual strength. It deals with the deities presiding over the directions, Agni, Indra, Soma, Mitra-Varuṇa, Bṛhaspati, Aditi and Puruṣa, respectively presiding over the East, South, West, North, Upper, the World and all the directions.

In the third section, the qualities leading one to Svarga are given in two categories; Attachment, Desire, Mantra, Yagña, Water, Agni and Anuvitti or purposeful action; Tapas, Sraddha, Satya, Manas and Caraṇa. After thus dealing with the external and internal qualities required for the realisation of Brahman, the section in the fifth Anuvaka

deals succinctly with the Great Mantrās of the *Yajur Veda*, known as the Cātur-Hotriya, *viz.*, the Dasa-Hota, the Cātur-Hota, the Panca-Hota, the Ṣad-Hota, the Sapta-Hota, all mystic mantras, given in the Āraṇyaka III. The last part of this section deals with the creation of the Universe.

The first Anuvaka, namely the sixth Anuvaka of the section, refers to the earth, loose at first, evolving into sand and rock, the growth of plants and trees, the coming into life of the quadrupeds and the bipeds, the appearance of minerals, like iron, lead, gold, etc. The next Anuvaka describes the directions, the atmosphere, the waters of the waterfalls, wells, artesian and ordinary, the winds, the elements, etc. The next Anuvaka describes the stars, the night and day and the earliest literary expression in the form of stories, legends, etc. The fourth and the last Anuvaka, which is highly metaphorical and imaginative, begins with a description of the Universe so evolved as bounded and encircled by the Vedas, the Ṛg Veda on the East, the Yajur Veda on the South, the Atharva Veda on the West, and the Sama Veda on the North. The three Savanas of the Day are compared to the three Vedas, Ṛg, Yajus and Sama. Then it is said that the form, the movement and the power of the Universe are controlled respectively by the Ṛg, Yajus and Sama Vedas, and that all these derive their existence from the Brahma or Atharva Veda. Then the creation of the Universe is described as a Yāga, with all the ritualistic details. This ritual known as Viśva-srja or the Creation of the Universe is described as a thousand years' ritual, thereby clearly indicating that the evolution of the Universe is a growth of long periods of time. Therein the conception of creation according to this piece of Vedic literature approaches the view-point of Science, as we know it to-day.

From this part of the *Veda*, known as the *Kathaka*, describing the evolution of the physical universe and the mystic basis of its existence, through the immanent influence of the Sun, as Savitri, we pass on to the *Aruṇa Prasna*, which describes the Sun, and the physical Universe from a unified view-point.

This *Prasna* begins with a description of the Sun as the cause of time, as the lord of the seasons and of the year, and then takes us to a view of the seat of the Sun on Mount Meru, the relation of the Sun to Fire, Air, Water, and the Earth and then speaks of the Sun as the form of Brahman, the goal of realisation for the human soul. The prayer to the Sun and the manner in which one could gradually realise Brahman in the Sun, as the manifested form of Brahman in the different parts of the Universe, are dealt with in the *Prasna*. In the latter part of the *Prasna* dealing with the regulations for the Aruṇa-Ketuka Cayana in particular, the true metaphysical significance of the Sun is developed,

'Then said Aruṇa, son of the Eternal Brahman,
That Savitri is All-Agni.' (*An.* 26)
'Born and Dead, World-bound, O Being, be not, again
and again;
Happy at start, unhappy at end,
Forsake Thy-Self's Frame;
What rays, self-evolved,
The body, created,
Let them, thy body, create;
May not, also, in Thee, the will-Power be lost!
Arise, sleep not,
Agni, propitiate, O Bharatas!
Be King Soma's propitiators,
Be Sūrya's Union-gainers.'*

This is the teaching of the *Aruṇa Prasna*: Concentrate on the Sun as the divine manifestation of the unseen Brahman, with the aid of the Savitri, as given in the ninth Anuvaka of the first section of the *Kathaka Prasna*, and in the eleventh Anuvaka of the *Aruṇa Prasna*, realising the Power of the Sun as the Creator and the Preserver and the Destroyer of the Universe, as shown in its ordered evolution in the several sections of the *Kathaka Prasna*.

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* *The Hymn of Aruṇa,* By N. K. Venkatesam Pantulu.

As stated in the fourteenth Anuvaka of the *Aruṇa Prasna*, the Sun who rises in the morning, rises, having taken all creatures' lives overnight, and when He sets, He sets, taking all creatures' lives with Him. When the Sun rises, we begin life, when the Sun sets, our lives have their daily death in sleep,

'the innocent sleep,
Sleep that knits up the ravel's sleave of care,
The death of each day's life, sore labour's bath,
Balm of hurt minds, great nature's second course,
Chief nourisher in life's feast.' (*Macbeth*, II, ii.)

If we, who thus live with the Sun and die with the Sun every day during our human lives in this world's course of our eternal existence, should pray to the Divine Sun, as Savitri, the ever-moving form of the Divine Brahman, we are helped by our profound and incessant meditation on the form of Brahman, to attain our union with Brahman, by Sāyujya with Āditya. That is the lesson of the *Kathaka* and the *Aruṇa Prasnas*.

# DRAVIDIC SANDHI

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(*Continued from Vol. XXVI, Nos. 3 & 4, p. 185*)

## III

### Vowels and Consonants

The consonants occurring in initial positions of native words are the following in the respective speeches.

Tamil :—*k*, *c* (*ś*), *t*, *p*, *m*, *n'*, *ñ*, *v*, *y*.

Malayâḷam :—As in Tamil.

Kannaḍa :—All the above, except *v* (which is replaced in Kann. by *b*) ; besides, the voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *b*, *d* : further *h*, *s* and a few rare cases of *ḍ*, *l*, *r*.

Telugu :—All the sounds occurring in Kann. except *h* ; and, in addition, *v* also.

Tuḷu :—As in Kannaḍa.

Kûi :— As in Telugu.

The condition of Tam.-Mal. represents a conservative state of affairs in Dravidian. The divergences in the other speeches are due to historical causes,[24] chief among which are the following :

(i) Tamil, Mal., Tel., Kûi and Gôṇḍi, have *v*- initially, while in corresponding words of Kann., Tuḷu (Kuru*kh* and Brâhûi) a *b* appears.

(ii) The voiced sounds *g*, *j*, *d*, in all speeches (aside from Tamil and Mal.) correspond largely to the voiceless *k*, *ś* (*c*), *t*, of Tam.-Mal.

(iii) *s*- of Kann., Tuḷu and Kûi corresponds in numerous cases to Tam. *c* (*ś*).

(iv) The glottal fricative *h*- of Kann. is a development in this speech of an older strongly aspirated *p*- ; this change

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[24] All these points are separately discussed by me in the following papers of mine : " Initial Fricatives and Affricates of Dravidian" in IA. ; "Aphœresis and Sound-Displacement in Dr." in *Q.J.M.S.*; " Dravidic Problems " in IA.

should have commenced prior to the time of Bhb, as this grammar makes mention of it in sūtra 122.

Kûi *h* is sub-dialectal, alternating as it does with *s*- ; Tuḷu *h* also alternates regionally and communally with *t*, *s*, *ś* and *c*.

(v) Many cases of *ḍ* (*d*), *r* [Tel.], *ḍ*, *r*, *l* [Tuḷu and Kûi] are due to aphœresis consequent on accent-shift.

The consonant groups with -*l*, -*r*, appearing in initial positions of certain native Kûi forms are also due to aphœresis and accent-displacement.

## Tamil

1. The most important change (from the standpoint of Tamil grammar) in the junction of vowels and consonants is what is known as *iraṭṭal* (doubling).

This doubling or gemination chiefly affects the voiceless plosive sounds (in which group Tam. grammarians have always included the affricate *c*), though non-plosives also suffer gemination in a few contexts.

This gemination is conditioned (generally speaking) by the following factors :

(i) The degree of semantic intimacy implied or expressed in the combinative sequences.

It is, I think, fundamentally a psychological distinction that has been sought to be recognized by the Tamil grammarians in their classification of *sandhi* contexts into "vêt't'rumai vaḻi" (compounding of words with "casal" relationships) and "alvaḻi" (other compounds and sequences). This essentially psychological distinction has been fully utilised by the Tamil grammarians in the formulation of rules. In some cases, as I shall show below, one can mark off further differences, from the semantic or psychological standpoint, among the different cases of "alvaḻi" ; but the main distinction between "vêt't'rumai vaḻi" and "alvaḻi" is the most prominent one that is reflected in the *sandhi* changes in this category and in the next one (*i.e.*, *sandhi* in connection with consonants meeting consonants).

(ii) In some types, the length of the vowels on the one hand, or the character of the consonants on the other has also operated in regulating the gemination of consonants.

(iii) Another factor is the structure of the first constituents of the compounds in external *sandhi*. For illustrations, see below.

1. All consonants (except *y*) are geminated after the short demonstratives *a*, *i*, *u*; after the interrogative *e*; the numeral adjective *mu-*; and after the imperatives *no* (feel pain !) and *tu* (eat or enjoy !).

*a-k-kot't'ran*

*i-ñ-ñânam*

*e-v-vâḻai* (which plantain tree ?)

*mu-k-kaṇṇan* (three-eyed one)

*no-k-kot't'râ*

Before *y-*, the demonstratives *a*, *i*, *u* incorporate *-v-*, as in *a-v-yânai* (that elephant), etc.

2. After long vowels, all surds are geminated, irrespective of the question of "vêt't'rumai" or "alvaḻi": *î-k-kuṛidu*, *î-k-kuṛumai*, *pê-t-tîdu*, *pê-t-tîmai*, etc.

Exceptions: In a number of "alvaḻi" contexts, this gemination is absent:

(i) after the words *â* (cow), *mâ* and *âmâ* in some "alvaḻi" contexts;

(ii) after the interrogative *yâ* (which ?);

(iii) after the interrogative syntactic particle *-â*, as in *avan-â kêṭṭân* (was it he that asked ?);

(iv) after *-â*, the "neuter" plural ending of negative finite verbs, as in *uṇṇâ kudiraigaḷ* (the horses do not take food);

(v) after *-â*, *-î* of imperatives, as in *tâ kot't'râ*, *î kot't'râ*;

(vi) after the particle *-miyâ* in forms like *cenmiyâ câttâ*;

(vii) after the particles *-ê*, *-ô*, as in *avanê koḍuttân*, *avanô koḍuttân*;

(viii) after *nî*, *pî*.

3. After words and forms with final *-a*, gemination of surd plosives occurs everywhere in "vêt't'rumai", but it is confined in "alvaḻi" to two contexts only, *viz.*, sequences of Infinitive participles (with *-a*) followed by other words (chiefly, the verbs governed by the above participles), and the combination of the subject-nominative with other words (chiefly, the predicates) having initial surds.

*viḷa-k-kuṟumai*—" vêt't'rumai ".

*uṇṇa-p-pônân* (he went for eating)—" alvaḻi " type of Inf. participle and verb; but not after *-a* of old *uṇṇiya*, as in *uṇṇiya pônân*.

*viḷa-k-kuṟidu*—" alvaḻi " sequence of subject-nominative and predicate.

There is no doubling after *-a* of the relative participles,[25] of the optatives and of the neuter plural endings of finite verbs:

*uṇḍa kudirai*—Relative participle with noun governed by it.

*vâḻga perumân* (may the great man rule)—Optative.

*uṇḍana kudiraigaḷ*—"Neuter" plural ending with *-a*.

The following points are noteworthy:

(*i*) Instances of subject-nominatives with final *-a* are very few in Tamil.

(*ii*) The most numerous instances with *-a* in Tamil are those of Infinitive participles, Relative participles, Optatives and neuter plural endings of verbs. All sequences involving the above are of the " alvaḻi " type and, among these, gemination of the plosive surd occurs only in the case of the Infinitive participle followed by verbs. It will be recognized that the psychological relationship of the constituents in this type is sufficiently strong to bring about the *sandhi* change. Regarding the others in which the change is not met with, a pause (which bars the operation of *sandhi*) is natural after the Optative and the neuter plural finite ending.

4. After forms with final *-i*, gemination of surds occurs, generally speaking, in " vêt't'rumai "; while in " alvaḻi " the doubling takes place only in adjectival compounds, comparisonal compounds [*uvamai-t-togai*], sequences of past participles and verbs [*vinai-y-ecca-t-toḍar*] and a few other instances. " Vêt't'rumai " : *nari-t-talai* ; *parutti-p-pû* ; *kiḷi-c-ciṟumai*.

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[25] In collocations like *vanda-k-kâl*, *ceyda-k-kâl* where *kâl* has the value of an affix signifying 'when', 'if', there is doubling after the Relative participle with *-a*. This is ascribable to grammatical fusion.

There are a few exceptions, as in *êri-karai*, *kuḻavi-kai*, *êri-kaṭṭinân*[26] (he built a tank).

Alvaḻi: *mâśi-t-tiṅgaḷ* (the month of *mâśi*)—adjectival or qualitative.

*kâvi-k-kaṇ* (eye like ochre)—comparisonal.

*ôḍi-p-pônân* (he went away running)—past participle and verb.

*ini-p-pôvan* (he will go next).

The gemination is absent in the following *alvaḻi* contexts: Imperative and subject, *dvandvas* [*ummai-t-togai*], second person finite verb (with *-i*) and subject, and usually in the sequence of the Nominative and Predicate.

The "alvaḻi" contexts which do not show doubling are either those (the imperative-subject sequence or that of finite verb and subject) in which a pause is involved, or dvandvas (like *yânai kudiraigal* 'elephants and horses'), and optional instances of nominative followed by predicate (like *koḍi peridu*) in which the sense of "transitivity" is lacking.

5. After words with final *-ai*, the rules of doubling are the same as those for forms with final *-i*:

"vêt't'rumai"—*pûnai-c-cevi* (cat's ear);

"alvaḻi"—*veḷḷai-k-kudirai* (white horse)—adjectival compound;

—*tâmarai-k-kaṇ* (lotus-like eye)—comparisonal compound.

6. After the *mut't'riyal-ugaram -u*, gemination of surds occurs both in "vêt't'rumai" and in "alvaḻi", subject to the following exceptions:

(*i*) Doubling is absent after the demonstrative "neuters" *adu*, *idu* and the old *udu*, which (according to strict grammatical rules) should have the *mut't'riyal-ugaram* but which in later literary usage and in the colloquial behave as if they had *u* instead of *u*. So far as these words are concerned,

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[26] Compounds formed of the second case nouns (without the Acc. ending) and the verb, in many types, do not involve these changes. N.255, alludes to this feature.

they had already been recognized even by *Tolkâppiyam* as behaving as if they had *ɯ* at the end; for TE expressly provides that there is no gemination of surd plosives following these demonstrative "neuters".

(*ii*) After adjecival *oru* (one), doubling of surds is absent; here too, these forms behave in vocalic *sandhi* as if they had *ɯ* finally (see *supra*).—TE, 258: *oru kai, oru talai.*

In *iru kalam* (two pots), *aṟu-kalam* [TE, 390] where the numerals are followed by nouns denoting 'measure' or 'weight', there is no doubling of the plosive. *oru-t-talai* [with doubling] (one side) occurs in some comparatively late texts, beside older *oru-talai*; *oru-k-kâl* (once, sometime) similarly is a late variant of *oru-kâl* [*cf.* old Mal. *orikkâl* in RC, 13, beside modern Mal. *orikkal*]. The alternative doubling in these Tamil instances after *oru* is perhaps due to intimate semantic fusion.

(*iii*) In the compounds known as *vinai-t-togai* constituted of verbal bases and nouns governed aoristically by these bases, like *aḍu-kaḻiṟu* (battling, destroying elephant), *cuḍu-kâḍu* (cremation ground), the initials of the second constituents (if they are surds) are not geminated in spite of their being preceded by the *mut't'riyal-ugaram.*

(*iv*) After singular imperatives like *viḍu* (leave off), *eḍu* (take!), surds (when they occur) are not geminated. It may be mentioned that in the colloquial the final vowel of these forms has only the value of *ɯ*.

(*v*) After *maṟu* and *śiṟu*, there is no doubling; *maṟu-karai* (opposite bank), *śiṟu-kôl* (short measuring rod).

7. After final -*ɯ*, the general rule is that there is no doubling, either in "vêt't'rumai" or in "alvaḻi", if this -*ɯ* is immediately preceded by a short consonant: *nâgɯ kaḍidɯ, nâgɯ kaḍumai, śeydɯ pônân.*

When this -*ɯ* is immediately preceded by *menṟoḍar* consonant groups, then in "vêt't'rumai" the plosives following are doubled, but in "alvaḻi" there is no change:

*kuraṅgɯ-k-kâl*
*pâmbɯ-t-tôl* (slough of snake)

but[27] *pâmbu peridu* (the snake is big)
*arindu ceydân* (he did knowingly).

When the consonant group immediately preceding the final *kut't'riyal-ugaram u* is a long surd, then both in "vêt't'-rumai" and in "alvaḻi", the surds following are geminated.

*kokku-c-cirumai*
*kokku-c-ciridu*
*koduttu-p-pônân* (he went, having given)
*pattu-p-pâṭṭu* (ten songs).

8. A few contexts in internal positions, in which gemination of surds occurs after vowels are the following:

(*i*) The dative suffix *-ku* has its initial surd invariably geminated when preceded by a vowel, whether this vowel is a part of the base, or a *câriyai u*: *tambi-k-ku* (to the brother), *ammai-k-ku* (to the mother), *avan-u-k-ku* (to him).

(*ii*) The locative suffix *kaṉ* has its initial surd doubled after vowels, except in connection with *uyartiṇai* bases: *uri-k-kaṉ* (at the swing-pot), *vîṭṭu-k-kaṉ* (at the house).

(*iii*) The affix *-ku* which does duty as an extension-particle[28] in Tamil-Malayâḷam particularly appears as *-kku* when it is used in certain forms of *kârita* verb-bases denoting a certain higher degree of verbal activity than passive verbs.

Examples of *kârita* verbs are *naḍa-kk-* (to walk), *kiḍa-kk-*, etc.

Some of the factors conditioning Tam. consonantial *sandhi* in external positions may be pointed out here:—

(*a*) Structural:—after the short demonstratives, all consonants (except *y*) are geminated.

(*b*) Character of meeting sounds:—(*i*) after long vowels, generally speaking, surds are doubled everywhere; (*ii*) the gemination affects only *p-*, *k-*, *t-* and *c-* (initial non-plosives are also geminated after the short demonstratives and after *mu-*); (*iii*) after the *mut't'riyal ugaram u*, plosives are doubled both in "vêt't'rumai" and in "alvaḻi" whereas after *u* this

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[27] After *âṅgu*, *iṅgu*, gemination is prescribed (TE, 428).
[28] See my *Dravidic Verb*.

doubling occurs only in "vêt't'rumai"; (*iv*) the difference in treatment between *kuraṅgu-kaḍidu* and *kokku-k-kaḍidu* points to the influence of the already existing long surd in the latter in inducing the gemination of the surd following.

(*c*) The degree of semantic intimacy in the meeting of the words:—(*i*) pauses bar the operation of *sandhi*, as illustrated by the exceptions given in connection with the meeting of long vowels and plosives; (*ii*) in "vêt't'rumai" the changes are almost always active, while in "alvaḻi" they are generally dependent upon the semantic intimacy of the constituents.

## Malayâḷam

1. Most of the changes recorded above for Tamil exist in Malayâḷam also. *Lîlâtilakam*, however, does not describe all the rules and the exceptions. A few contexts mentioned by this work are the following: the doubling of surds after the second "case" ending *-e* [corresponding to Tam. ending *-ai* of the second "case"] distinguished from instances like *adê kaṇḍu* (yes! (he) saw), where a naturally intervening pause prevents doubling [L, III, 9]; the gemination of surds and of other initial sounds after the short demonstratives *a*,[29] *i* and the interrogative *e* [L, III, 10, 11]; and a very general statement [L, III, 12] about the gemination of surds in *samâsas* like *âna-k-kâḍu*. The treatment given by *Lîlâtilakam* is certainly of a summary character; but the examination of Mal. texts and inscriptions shows that many of the rules and exceptions of Tamil are observed in Malayâḷam also in *sandhi* contexts.

2. There are, however, a few contexts in which Mal. appears to have popularised in literary usage some variations[30] from the Tamil rules:—

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[29] Forms like Tam. *a-v-yânai* (with *-v-*) do not occur in Mal.

[30] In the colloquial, many contractions having a *sandhi* basis are met with. A prominent one is the change of the present tense ending *-un'n'-* to *-uṇ* or *-ṇ*:—*naḍakk-uṇ-u* (walks), *pô-ṇ-u* (goes), *tar-ṇ-u* (gives), *â-ṇ-ə* (is)—heard in Cochin State colloquial. *âṇə* is used in literature also.

(*i*) The rule of Tamil that after the *kut't'riyal ugaram* following long voiceless plosives, surds are always doubled, is not observed in modern Malayâḷam[31] in the literary and the colloquial varieties.

*kâṭṭu-pôttə* (wild buffalo)—Tam. *kâṭṭu-p-pôttu*
*kurakku-paḍa* (army of monkeys)—Tam. *kurakku-p-paḍai*
*veccu-koṇḍə* (placing)—Tam. *vaittu-k-koṇḍu*
*ât't'u-pâyal*—Tam. *ât't'ru-p-pâśi*
*nâṭṭu-kâryam* (affairs of the land)—Tam. *nâṭṭu-k-kâryam*
*pâṭṭu-kaccêri* (music party)—Tam. *pâṭṭu-k-kaccêri*
*aḍiccu-taḷi*
*têccu-kuḷi* (oil bath)
*piḍiccu-paṛi* (robbery).

(*ii*) In sequences formed of the subject-nominative and a predicate following, except in intimate word-compounds, modern Mal. does not usually tolerate the doubling of the initial surd of the predicate after a final vowel of the subject. [Doubling is met with in Tamil in some contexts.]

*tî cuḍum* (fire will scorch)
*pû koḻiññu* (the flower fell)
*puḻu tâḻum* (the worm will go down)
*pê piḍiccu* (was stricken with madness).

In intimate compounds like *tî-p-piḍiccu*, doubling occurs in Mal.

(*iii*) After *â*, *î*, the lengthened demonstrative adjectives, consonants are not doubled :—*â kudira* (that horse), *î pallə* (this tooth). These lengthened demonstratives are generally used in modern Mal. [*cf.* Kannaḍa]. The short *a-*, *i-* [with doubling

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[31] The following inscriptional instances show that the variation from the Tam. rule, mentioned here cropped up early in Mal.

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| *vittu-pâḍu*— | TAS, III, p. 14, L. 22— | 12th century. |
| *eḍuttu-koṇḍ* — | TAS, III, p. 29, L. 20— | 12th century. |
| *viṭṭu-koḍuttâr*— | TAS, IV— | 10th century. |

Even in Tamil, commentators point out that the literary rule was sometimes broken in instances like *nâṭṭu-pugaḻ* ; further, colloquial passages in Tamil inscriptions have numerous instances without the doubling.

of the consonants following] are common in old texts; in modern literature they are met with only in poetry.

## Kannaḍa

The contexts involving the doubling of consonants *after vowels* are the following :—

1. After *mu-*, the numeral adjectival particle, consonants are geminated, as in other south Dravidian speeches: *mu-k-koḍe* (three parasols), *mu-p-poḻal* (three cities or dwellings), *mu-m-mâṟu* (three articles of exchange)—Śś, 68, Śmd, 188.

2. In verbal compounds formed of past participles with the help-verb *koḷ-*, *k-* of *koḷ-* appears geminated optionally after a preceding final *-i* of the past participle in present-day writings: *etti-k-koṇḍu* (having lifted) beside *etti-koṇḍu*. *Cf.* doubling in Tam. *ôḍi-k-koṇḍu.*

3. Early pre-literary inscriptional Kannaḍa shows some types of doubling:—(*i*) in samâsas like *taḻakkâḍu*, *taleppoṟey-arkke*; (*ii*) in Infinitives followed by the verb *paḍ*, as in *eṟiveppaḍuvôrum*, *eydeppaḍuvâr*; (*iii*) in internal positions in verb-forms, as in *aḻittôn*. In all these types, pre-literary inscriptional Kannaḍa shows agreement with Tamil.

4. Śś 67 prescribes that a consonant (other than *r*), when itself forming part of a consonant group, is geminated (in word-compounds) after a vowel: *barisi-p-pradhânaram*, *idu-s-svâdu* (this is sweet), *adu-v-vyavasâyam* (that is cultivation).

This rule is not given in Bhb or Śmd. Śmd, 59, 60 point out that in these circumstances the consonant groups (occurring as the initials of the second constituents of poetic sequences), should not be considered as a *śithila dvitva*. Śś appears to have prescribed the gemination with a view to obviating the possibility of the consonant groups being mistaken for *śithila* groups. For other unique rules of consonantal gemination, laid down by Śś, see below.

5. In the following types, gemination of surds after vowels is met with in internal *sandhi* optionally :—

(*a*) The Dative ending *-ke* has its *k* optionally doubled after *a-* in forms like *mara-kke* (to the tree), *mara-ke*; *pola-kke*,

*pola-ke* (to the field); (*teṅkaṇ-a-kke*) : Śmd, 113. The optional doubling of *k*- of the Dative ending is limited to this context and also to modern forms like *mâḍal-i-kke* in Kannaḍa, while (as already noted *supra*) in Tamil the datival *k*- is geminated after other vowels also.

(*b*) -*itu*, -*ittu* and -*attu* are used as the third person neuter singular endings. [Śmd, 225; Śś, 59.]—*irdattu*; *muṭṭittu*, *muṭṭitu*; *ôḍittu*, *ôḍitu*.

Similarly, *oḷḷittu* is met with beside *oḷḷitu* (good, handsome).

(*c*) -*p*- of the old Kannaḍa present tense ending -*dapa*- is optionally doubled [Śś, 58]; similarly, the participial -*ut*- optionally appears as -*utt*-.

(*d*) The following forms of the causatives show optional doubling after -*i*- of the causative base: -*k*- of the aoristic future ending -*kum*, *e.g.*, *mâḍikkum*, *mâḍikum* (will cause to do) —Śś, 58; Śmd, 227. The commentary on the latter observes that this doubling is "beautiful in connection with adapted Sanskrit bases" [*saṃskṛtadôḷintidu manôharam*].

-*k*- of the third person Imperative is optionally doubled: *mâḍikke*, *mâḍike* (let him or them do)—Śś, 58; Śmd, 228.

-*p*- of the future finite endings of Kannaḍa causatives or Kann. adaptations of Skt. words is also optionally doubled: *mâḍippam*, *mâḍipam* (he will cause to do); *pûjippam*, *pûjipam* —Śś, 57.

(*e*) The derivative noun-affix -*ke* is optionally doubled, as in *unnati-ke*, *unnati-kke*: Śmd, 210.

(*f*) Modern datives of words like *mâḍal* (doing) show a geminated -*kk*- after the augment-like *i*, as in *mâḍal-i-kk-e*, etc.

The contexts in which gemination of consonants after vowels occurs in Kannaḍa are different from those of Tamil, though in some types like *mâḍikke*, *mâḍippam*, *mâḍikkum*, the rationale of doubling may be shown to be the same. Further, as the next paragraph will show, there has asserted itself in literary Kannaḍa a tendency in some instances to voice the initial surds, even in those contexts where Tamil would show gemination.

6. *k*- and *t*- become voiced in many word-compounds after vowels (and after consonants, for which see *infra*)—Bhb, 28; Śś, 89:—

*pal̤a-gannaḍa* (old Kannaḍa)
*huli-doval* (skin of tiger)
*pere-dalayanu*
*kiṟu-gôl*
*eḍa-gâl* (left foot)
*eḍe-goḷ-* (to take place)
*mûgu-vaḍ* [*paḍ-*] (to be silent).

One may contrast Kann. *huli-doval* and *peṟe-dalayanu* with the corresponding Tamil *puli-t-tôl* and *piṟai-t-talaiyan*.

The Kann. grammars provide for certain exceptions:

(*i*) In *tale-kaṭṭu* (turban), *bese-kôl* (bow for dressing cotton), *êdupandi* (porcupine), etc., there is no voicing of the initial surd of the second constituent [Śś, 101]; (*ii*) the voicing occurs only in compounds [Śś, 89, *prayôga*] and not in sequences; (*iii*) even among compounds, *dvandvas* and *gamakas* do not generally show the change.

On examining Kannaḍa literary texts and the grammars, I find that the following general rules may be laid down regarding the voicing of surds in this category of change:—

(*i*) The voicing occurs (subject to the following exceptions) in many of the Kannaḍa *samâsas* described as such by Śmd, in Chapter III of that work.

In tatpuruṣa's like *mâṇikya-gempu*, karmadhâraya's like *kiṟu-gûsu*, and *oḷ-gannaḍa*, and in kṛiyâsamâsa's of the particular type constituted of Accusatives followed by governing verbs, like *kuṟupu-dandu*, *râpu-goṇḍu*, *gaṟi-gedaṟi*, the voicing occurs very generally.

Also in dvigu's like *mû-dale*, *mû-gay*, *palagaṇ*, *aṟu-dale*, voicing is met with, but there is no voicing in *ondu kaṇṇu*, *eraḍu koḍe*, *mûṟu kay*, *palavu kaṇ*, because here there is no compounding, strictly speaking.

In gamaka's like *âva-kelasa*, *biḷiya karbu*, *pâḍuva tumbi* and in *dvandva*'s like *tande-tâygaḷ*, *aṇṇâ-tammandir* and *âṭa-pâṭa-kûṭaṅgaḷ*, voicing is entirely absent. Voicing is similarly

absent in vîpsâsamâsa's like *toppa-toppane*, *taṇṇa-taṇṇane*, *taḻa-taḻane*, *tutta-tudi*, *kaṭṭa-kaḍe*, and in the sequences of past participles and verbs.

(*ii*) In *śabda-pallava* verbs, voicing is introduced in some instances like *kai-gûḍ-* (to succeed), *kai-geḍ-* (to be defeated), *kai-gây-* (to protect), *pindu-goḷ-* (to follow); but there is no voicing in others like *etti-koḷ-* (to lift), *bêḍi-koḷ-* (to request), etc., which are verbs formed of past participles and the verb *koḷ-*.

(*iii*) In many modern sequences, the voicing is absent: *iḍe- toṭṭil illa* (there is no cradle for being used) [J Bh] where *iḍe*, the Infinitive participle, is followed by *toṭṭil-*.

For a comparison of Kannaḍa with Tamil, see below.

7. Another rule in literary Kannaḍa is that *p-*, *b-*, *m-*, become weakened to *v-* in *samâsas* and sometimes (optionally) in non-*samâsas* [Śś, 91]:—

*eḷe-veṛe* [*peṛe*] (young crescent moon);
*beḷe-volam* [*polam*] (field with growing corn);
*mara-vaṇe* [*maṇe*] (wooden stool);
*tara vêḻdam* [*pêḻdam*], an instance of a non-*samâsa* sequence in which *p-* has changed to *v-*.
*ûrge-vôpa* [*pôpa*]-, a sequence.

This weakening of *-p-* and *-m-* to *-v-* in inter-vocal contexts has parallels in Tam. and Mal. colloquials and in the change of *p-* to *v-* in certain contexts in Telugu (for which, see below):—

Mal. *eḍa-vâḍə* (transaction) < *eḍa-pâḍə*.

Mal. *tiga-vâḍə* (measure of completion < *tiga-pâḍə*).

*cf.* also Kann. *tâvare* for *tâmare* (lotus); *cf.*, further, Mal. coll. *guṇ-ây* (good resulted) < *guṇav-ây* < *guṇam-ây*, *iru-vadə* < *irupadə* (twenty).

### Telugu

1. Gemination of consonants (except *r*, *l*) occurs after the short demonstratives *a*, *i*, after the short interrogative and after the numeral adjective *mu-* :—

*a-k-kanya* (that maiden), *i-m-muni* (this sage), *e-k-kâlam* (which time?), *mu-k-kaṇṭi* (three-eyed): AC, 61.

2. What is described in Telugu grammars as *ga-ḍa-sa-da-v-âdeśa*, involving the voicing of *k*-, *ṭ*-, *t*- and the change of *c*- to *s*- and of *p*- to *v*- after "prathamas", "avyayas," verbs, and in certain compounds, falls within this category. The circumstances in which this change has been prescribed for the literary dialect by the earlier indigenous grammars involve differences [AŚ, I, p. 146 ff.].

The following illustrations from the earliest texts are given by AŚ :—

*vîral-gôpiñcina* [*kôpiñcina*]
*evvaṇḍu-vaṭhiñcenu* [*paṭhiñcenu*]
*vîrulu-sûci* [*cûci*]
*iṭlu-dapambu* [*tapambu*]
*râru-gadâ* [*kadâ*]

It has been pointed out that in the earliest documents this change was quite usual whether the constituents on either side were native or tatsama. In later times, the scope appears to have been narrowed and the changes were introduced only in native words.

*ceṭṭu-vaḍe* [*paḍe*]—
*vâṇḍu-saniye* [*caniye*]—
*vatturu-vôduru* [*pôduru*]—
*êmi-seppudunu* [*ceppudunu*].

In some *dvandva samâsas* like the following, these changes have been prescribed and introduced compulsorily :—

*kûra-gâyulu* (vegetables and fruits)
*kâlu-sêtulu* [*cêtulu*] (feet and hands)
*talli-danḍrulu* [*tanḍrulu*] (parents)
*ûru-vallelu* [*pallelu*].

The changes, however, do not occur in a number of dvandvas like *râka-pôkalu* (coming and going), *akka-cellenḍru* (elder and younger sisters), *anda-candamulu*, *kanda-tunḍemulu*.

The following points may be noted in connection with this class of Tel. changes :

(*a*) It occurs in old texts and inscriptions (*i*) in certain *samâsas* and sequences; (*ii*) in a number of *dvandva* compounds; (*iii*) after a number of words like *andu*, *eṭlu*, *êmi*,

*eppuḍu*, etc.; (*iv*) after some verb-forms; and (*v*) in some compound verbs like *oppu-gon-*, *arugu-deñc-*, *cêḍ-vaḍ-* [*paḍ-*], *proddu-vaḍ-* [*paḍ*].

(*b*) The change is absent after (*i*) *êvârthaka* words; (*ii*) questions and expressions denoting surprise; (*iii*) *-i* of past participles.

(*c*) The voicing of *k-* and *t-* and the weakening of *p-* to *v-* (by removal of lip-closure) may be compared to similar phonetic changes in Kannaḍa, but the contexts and the circumstances in which the changes occur in the two speeches are not completely alike:—

| Kann. | Tel. |
|---|---|
| 1. Voicing, and $p > v$ in Kannaḍa *samâsas*, generally speaking. | Only some instances of compounds show the changes. |
| 2. Sequences do not show voicing. | Many sequences do show changes. |
| 3. After past participles, *sambôdanas*, there is no change. | No changes in these contexts. |
| 4. *Dvandvas* do not involve voicing of surds. | Many *Dvandvas* do show the changes. |

| | Tamil | Malayâḷam | Kannaḍa | Telugu | |
|---|---|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Doubling of consonants after the demonstratives *a*, *i* | *a-k-kudirai* | *a-k-kudira* | | *a-k-kâlam* | |
| 2. Doubling of consonants after the numeral adjectival *mu-* | *mu-k-kaṇṇan* | *mu-k-kaṇṇan* | *mu-k-kaṇṇanu* | *mu-k-kaṇṭi* | |
| 3. Other types of doubling of surds after different vowels | Doubling of surds occurs in the circumstances detailed in the course of the essay. | Mainly like Tamil —Differences between Tamil and and Malayâḷam also exist. | No doubling.— Sonatisation of *k*,*t* in some compounds ; change of *p* >*v*-. | No doubling.— Voicing of *k*,*t*, and change of *p*- to *v*- in instances covered by the *ga-ḍa-sa-v âdêśa* rule. | |
| 4. Weakening of certain bilabials to *v*, after vowels | | *cf.* intervocal- *m*- >*v*- in *eḍa-vâḍə*, etc. | *eḷa-vere*, etc. | | |
| 5. *c* > *s* (after vowels in Tel.) | | | | *c*- > *s*- according to the *ga-ḍa-da-v- âdêśa* rules | |
| 6. *u* > *ï* [*kut'l'riyal-igaram*] before *y*- | *nâg-ï-yâdu* | | | | |

The following points may be noted in connection with the junction of vowels and consonants (see Table) :—

(*a*) There is inter-dialectal agreement in 1 and 2; the phonetic principle underlying the change of *p* to *v* in Kann. and Tel. is evident in the colloquials of other speeches. But 5 and 6 are unique in the respective speeches.

(*b*) So far as 3 is concerned, it would be useful to make a systematic comparison of the instances of Tamil, Kannaḍa and Telugu :—

| | Tamil | Kannaḍa | Telugu |
|---|---|---|---|
| A. "Casal" compounds showing doubling of surds in Tamil | | Pre-literary inscriptional *taḻakkâḍu* shows doubling | |
| | *puli-t-tôl* (skin of tiger) | *huli-doval* [toval] | *puli tôlu* |
| | *mara-k-kombu* (branch of tree) | *mara-gombu* [*kombu*] | |
| | *kai-k-kuḻandai* | *kai-gûsu* [*kûsu*] | |
| | *mâṇikka-c-civappu* (redness of gem) | *mânikya-gempu* [kempu] | |
| | *talai-k-kaṭṭu* (turban) | *tale-kaṭṭu* [Exceptional type in compounds: Śś] | *tala-kaṭṭu* |
| B. Non-casal compounds showing doubling of surds in Tamil | *vaṭṭa-k-kal* (round stone) | *baṭṭa-gal* [*kal*] | |
| | *vaṭṭa-t-toḍai* (stout thigh) | *baṭṭa-doḍe* | |
| C. Non-casal compounds with absence of doubling | *śuḍu-kâḍu* (crematorium) | *suḍu-gâḍu* [*kâḍu*] | |
| | *śiṟu-kôl* | *kiṟu-gôl* [*kôl*] | |
| | *tây-tandaigaḷ* (mother and father) | *tây-tandaigal* [no voicing of *t-*] | *talli-daṇḍrulu* [voicing of *t-*] |
| D. Sequences with doubling of surds in Tamil | *ôḍi-k-koṇḍ-* | *etti-koṇḍ-* | *etti-kon-* |
| | *vaittu-k-koḷ-* (to place) | *baitt-iṭṭu-koḷ* [JBh, 23] | *vaisi-kon-* |
| | *iḍa-t-toṭṭil-illai* (there is no cradle for use) | *ide-toṭṭil illa* [JBh, 17] | |
| | *tara-c-connân* (he said that it should be given) | *cf. tara-vêḷdam*; but there is doubling in old inscriptional *eyde-p-paḍu-vâr.* | |
| E. Sequences in which there is no doubling of surds in Tamil | *śeydu-koṇḍ-* | *cf. tegadu-koṇḍu* | |
| | *uṇḍa-kudirai* | *uṇḍa kudire*, *cf.*, also *pâḍuva tumbi* | |

| | Tamil | Kannaḍa | Telugu |
|---|---|---|---|
| F. Kannaḍa *kṛiyâ samâsas* show voicing of surds in one class | Tamil compounds formed of accusatives (without acc. endings) and verbs involve no doubling of the initial surds of the verbs | *gari-gedaṛi* (having spread the wings wide) [JBh, 26] *eḍe-goḷ* [to be attained] *kurupu-dandu* (having given evidence) [JBh, 30] | |
| G. Voicing of surds *k* and *t*- occurs in instances covered by the rules of Tel. *ga-ḍa-da-sa-v-âdêśa* | | | See *supra* for illustrations |

For the rules relating to voicing of surds in Kann., see above. In sequences, there is no voicing [cf. *prayôga* to Śś. 89, *-uttara padatvam ca samâsa eva iti, vâkye na bhavati.*] Voicing is absent in *gamakas* like *pâḍuva tumbi*, and in *dvandvas* like *tande-tâygaḷ*.

While Tamil shows gemination in A and B, literary Kannaḍa shows voicing generally, though inscriptional Kannaḍa has instances with doubling. The divergence between Tam. and literary Kan. is prominent.

In C and F, Kannaḍa shows voicing except in *dvandvas* (in which last respect, Kann. differs from Telugu). Tamil shows no doubling, but there is partial voicing of the surds in Tamil in actual pronunciation.

In D, Tam. shows doubling, while literary Kann. retains surds ungeminated; but here again, pre-literary Kann. instances like *eyde-ppaḍ-* show agreement with Tam.

In E, Tam. and Kann. retain the surds short.

Summing up, one notes that though Kannaḍa and Tel. have gone their own ways in some respects, the principle of "doubling" is represented to a fair extent in Kannaḍa (particularly pre-literary inscriptional Kann. which shows many archaic features), and is not absent from Telugu also.

As I had no opportunity of correcting the proofsheets of the last instalment of my paper, a number of printing errors crept in, and these are pointed out below :—

*Q.J.M.S., Vol. 26, Nos. 3 and 4.*

| Page | Line | *For* | *Read* |
|---|---|---|---|
| 169 | 11 | (joining) | (agreeing) |
| 170 | 18 | Śmd 148 | Śmd. 48 |
| 171 | 22 | *kut't'reyal* | *kut't'riyal* |
| ,, | 36 | *nûṛ-mâtu* | *nûr-mâtu* |
| 172 | 12 | (pestle) | (wooden mortar) |
| 173 | 36 | [Śmd, 142] | [*cf.* Śmd., 147] |
| 177 | 29 | *maṭṭ-aḍuvi* | *naṭṭaḍavi* |
| ,, | 30 | *nēḍu* | *neḍu* |
| 178 | 36 | [*noñju*] | [*nañju*] |
| 180 | 8 | (to place) | (to revile) |
| ,, | 8-9 | before verbal suffixes except .... | before *al*, but not always before.... |
| ,, | 11-12 | Delete " though...... doubled " | |
| ,, | 14 | (uttering lies....) | (striking....) |
| ,, | 18 | (we do not eat) | (he does not eat) |
| ,, | 32 | *kalu-dôy* | *kanu-dôy* |
| ,, | 33 | *muḷu-gampa* | *mulu-kampa* |
| 182 | 17 | *druta duritwa* | *druta dvitva* |
| ,, | 19 | *arcucun-* | *onarcucun-n-aparimitaniṣṭhâ* |
| 184 | 9 | col. 3 No doubling | No doubling in some Old Mal. instances; but doubling exists always in modern Mal. |
| ,, | 11 | ,, 4 optional | *al*, etc. |

# FOUNDATION OF THE VIJAYANAGARA EMPIRE AND VIDYĀRAṆYA'S PART THEREIN

(*Continued from Vol. XXVI, Nos.* 3 *&* 4, *p.* 226)

BY S. SRIKANTAYA, B.A., B.L.

## III

### Foundation of Vijayanagara

THE importance and ancient glory of Anegondi has already been briefly referred to. The chiefs of Anegondi, though Hoysala feudatories in later days, probably existed as a ruling dynasty for about 700 years before 1350 A.D. The Pampāpati temple points to Hoysala influence and excels others in the matter of style. From the hill above, it even to-day presents a fine picture. One of the first kings, if not the first, of the Anegondi kingdom, according to the *Rāya Vamśāvali* referred to by Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao, was Nandamaharaja (date 1014 A.D.), while the transfer of the capital to Vijayanagara across the river was effected by Vijayadhvaja in 1150 A.D.[123] He would thus be the founder of the old Vijayanagara. Inscriptional references are lacking to verify this identification. However this may be, the existence of the Pampāpati or Virūpākṣa temple, at a period long anterior to the foundation of the city by the illustrious brothers, is a fact beyond dispute. Even Father Heras accepts the genuineness of the inscriptions and the veracity of the legends and traditions in so far as they relate to the existence of the temple.[124] Sewell in his *List of Antiquarian Remains*[125] says Kapamaharaja was a predecessor of the Vijayanagara kings and, as related by tradition, built the original fort of Gandi Koṭa which was later on strengthened

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123 *N. F. E.*, pp. 11–12.

124 *Beg. Vij. His.*, p. 52.

125 Vol. I, p. 123.

by the rajas of Vijayanagara. Unfortunately, again, this piece of information lacks authority. The monkey flag and the Kapidhvaja kingdom are, however, referred to by Rice,[126] though the reference cannot be to the rulers of these parts. Following Sewell, we further find the Pampāpati temple *dharmakarta* stating that in 1199 A.D. a certain 'Bodayya Raja' made a charitable gift of Hampe to the temple.[127] This prince could not be the same one referred to as Bodha Mahadeva in a Mudigere inscription,[128] for the date of the latter is 1371 A.D.

It must be admitted that exploration work on the ruins of Hampe has not been complete; nor has the last word been said on the subject. The Vijayanagara temples present an architectural change, by a process of natural evolution, since the seventh century, traceable century after century and there is no break in continuity and no intrusion in the style of architecture.[129] It may well be that the hills and crags in the vicinity of the upper fortress of Anegondi will yet disclose facts confirming legend and tradition in material particulars. Kampili was an outpost of the capital of which Hospet and Anegondi formed a part in the palmy days of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Mr. Suryanarayana Rao gives what I cannot but describe as somewhat more than even legendary and refers to the Vāli Bhandāra or treasure-house of Vāli. Two huge boulders are placed one upon the other in horizontal fashion, near the temple of Gavi Ranganātha, about a mile from Anegondi, to the west of that place. It is said that a strong masonry gate on the eastern side of the hill, a high mound of a bony-like substance, surrounded by two high towers on either side, leads to the ruins of an apparently very old palace. The hill top is covered with cement flooring. Mr. Rao conjectures this was the place

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126 Rice, *Mysore*, Vol. I, p. 277.

127 *L. A. M.*, p. 106.

128 *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 87. Bukka is the ruler of Bodhamahadeva Durga.

129 *Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. V, p. 154. See Sewell, *F. E.*

where the rajas of Vijayanagara in their earliest days buried treasure.[130] At most, an inference as to the importance of the place may be possible from this reference.

Who founded Vijayanagara? The question still remains unanswered. The following extract from Sewell[131] needs no apology for reproduction. "On the rocks above the Hampe temple, close to a group of more modern Jaina temples, is to be seen a small shrine built entirely, roof as well as walls, of stone. Everything about this little relic proves it to be of greater antiquity than any other structure in the whole circuit of the hills, but its exact date is doubtful. It looks like a building of the seventh century A.D. It is quite possible that the shrine may have been used by a succession of recluses, the last of whom was the great teacher Mādhava. If we stand on that rock and imagine all the great ruins of the city visible from thence, the palaces and temples, the statues and towers and walls, to be swept out of existence, we have around us nothing but nature in one of her wildest moods—lofty hills near and far, formed almost entirely on the farther side, where dwelt the chiefs of Anegondi, and was just such as would have been chosen for their abode by the ascetics of former days, who loved to dwell in solitude and isolation amid scenes of grandeur and beauty.

"We shall, however, in all probability never know whether this hermit,[132] whose actual existence at the time is attested by every tradition regarding the origin of Vijayanagara, was really the great Mādhava or another less celebrated sage on whom by a confusion of ideas his name has been foisted. Some say that Mādhavācārya lived entirely at Sringeri."[133]

After recounting the several traditions regarding the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire, to which we shall presently advert, Sewell concludes the most reasonable one to be what will be consistent with Hindu legends and historical fact.

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[130] *N. F. E.*, p. 15.

[131] *F. E.*, p. 20.

[132] *i.e.*, Vidyāraṇya.

[133] *F. E.*, p. 20.

Two brothers, Hindus of the *Kuruba* caste, who were men of strong religious feeling, serving in the treasury of the king of Wārangal, fled from that place on its sack and destruction in 1323 A.D. and took service under the petty Raja of Anegondi. Both they and their chiefs were filled with horror and disgust at the conduct of the marauding Moslems, and pledged themselves to the cause of their country and their religion. They rose to be minister and treasurer respectively at Anegondi. About 1334 A.D. they gave shelter to Bahāudin and were consequently attacked by the Sultan of Delhi. Anegondi fell as recorded by Ibn Batuta, and the Sultan retired, leaving Malik Kafur as his deputy to rule. The General found the people too strong for him and eventually the Sultan restored the country to the Hindus, raising to be raja and minister respectively the two brothers who had been formerly minister and treasurer. These were Harihara and Bukka.[134]

Another view is that Ballāla III was responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire and that Harihara and Bukka were feudatories of the Hoysalas under him. Apart from the temple, there was no town in existence on the southern bank of the Tungabhadra river up to the beginning of the fourteenth century and with Anegondi as a nucleus, the new foundation was made. A large number of inscriptions has been collected since Sewell's day and the general consensus of opinion appears to favour this view.

According to a third account, Harihara and Bukka, officers of the king Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal on its sack in 1323 A.D. escaped with a small body of horse to the mountain fastnesses of Anegondi, accompanied by Vidyāraṇya and by some means, not stated, became lords of that tract and subsequently founded Vijayanagara. How fugitives from a conquered kingdom and captured capital could all at once establish themselves in a foreign country requires explanation here.

Another suggestion made is that they were in the service of the Muhammadan governor after the first capture of Wārangal

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[134] *F. E.*, see p. 23.

in 1309 A.D. Malik Kafur sent them against Ballāla III in 1310 A.D. Their section of the army was defeated, when they fled into the Anegondi region. There they met the holy Mādhava and by the aid of this recluse they founded Vijayanagara. Inscriptions attest the fact that atter 1310 A.D. Ballāla III was constantly moving about in his vast dominions, perhaps organising a defence. Off and on, he was staying at Hosapattana where he even crowned his son Ballāla IV. If the brothers were in the service of the Anegondi chiefs and if the latter were at war with the Hoysala, some explanation will be forthcoming in support of this idea. This question needs a somewhat detailed examination, later on.

There is yet another inference, *viz.*, that taking advantage of a little freedom secured in the course of Kafur's campaign against Dorasamudra, the Harihara brothers determined to free themselves from the foreign yoke. They had felt the humiliation of service under their Muhammadan conquerors, daily witnesses to their extortion and cruelty, and patriotism and love of Hindu *dharma* and religion triumphed with the result that "they abandoned the fleshpots of Egypt to throw in their luck with their co-religionists."

We shall reserve the consideration of the part played, if any, by Vidyāraṇya in the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire for a subsequent occasion. We shall now proceed to consider what had (1) the Yādavas of Deogiri, (2) the rajas of Anegondi, Kampila and Kummaṭa durga, (3) the Kākatiyas of Wārangal, and (4) the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra to do with the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire. This involves a consideration, incidentally, of the position which Harihara and Bukka occupied towards their contemporaries and towards the Sultan of Delhi.

The contribution of the Yādavas of Deogiri, if any, consists in their relationship to Harihara and Bukka, of which we shall also have to speak later in connection with the origin of the Sangama dynasty. The Raja of Anegondi, on seeing the advance of the Muhammadan army, is said to have crossed

the Tungabhadra and fled to Crynmata which had been previously fortified.

What is this Crynmata referred to by Nuniz in his accounts? Prof. Venkateswara refers to it as Sri-maṭha or Sringeri Maṭha thereby suggesting the reference as undoubtedly to Sringeri and the Gurus there. No other scholar has so far adopted his view and I believe we have to look for an identification in the vicinity of the Hampe ruins, if not in the ruins themselves. I have already referred to the suggestion that the fortress containing the treasure of the king of Besnāga[135] may have been Kampili or Anegondi. It is rather unfortunate that Mr. Suryanarayana Rao's account of the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire taken from the *Rāya Vamśāvali* in the possession of the rajas of Anegondi is of somewhat doubtful value; for, we find the *Vamśāvali* confusing as regards the accounts of contemporary families and the lack of historical material with which to test the accounts given there is a great handicap. Rev. Heras not only doubts its authenticity from the circumstance that it refers to the story of Vidyāraṇya but he says that several of the grants referred to are antedated and spurious, calculated to spread the belief that the ancient kings of Anegondi were of the same family as the kings of Vijayanagara and he concludes that the subject of the kings of Anegondi was very attractive to forgerers and king-fabricators. I am aware of the general remark, acknowledged to be well-founded in many cases, that numerous grants of the Vijayanagara kings are forged ones. But we must not forget that the very same authorities recognise the existence of numerous genuine grants of these kings. We need not follow Heras in his dissertation on this subject;[136] for, after all, the genuineness or otherwise of a grant depends upon several circumstances and even where a grant is an acknowledged forgery, it may nevertheless be registering a real tradition or a true fact.

We shall leave aside, for a moment, the story that the Anegondi ruling family was in existence for a period of 700

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[135] Sewell, *F. E.*, p. 294.

[136] *Begs.*, pp. 53–54.

years before 1354. We shall take it that there was a war on Nagumdym, which was strongly fortified, that its king exercised great power and had many troops and that he fled to Crynmata on a river bank on espying the Muhammadan army advance against his kingdom. To follow Nuniz's account further, in a desperate fight, after a twelve years' war, all were killed except six old men who were a minister of the king of Anegondi, another his treasurer and the rest his principal officers. At their request, the body of the king who was killed was conveyed very honourably to the city of Anegondi where he is still worshipped as a saint. The king is generally regarded to have been Kumāra Rāmanātha of Kampili. There is a record at Hampe on a stone pillar in the pagoda of Prasanna Virūpākṣa on the Hemakūṭa Hill dated 1309 A.D. and it is suggested that perhaps the name of the canonised Rāmanātha accounts for the Sri Rāmanātha temple[137] and for the signature 'Sri Rāmanātha' in the copper plate grant of Bhūpati Odeyar.[138] If we follow this account, we shall have to agree with what is contained in Ibn Batuta. Harihara and Bukka were released and sent to the South with a large following to defend them from any one who should desire to do them an injury. I have already sufficiently discussed how far such a thing was likely to have taken place. The explanation given that Enibiquymelly, the Moorish Governor of the place who remained there, was unable to maintain order; that the people revolted and that, there being no other alternative, the Delhi Sultan decided upon restoration upon a pledge of fealty does not appear probable. The Yavanas referred to in the *Grāma Paddhati* of Buchanan may be as legendary as the legendary hero Gangarāja of Anegondi family.[139] For, according to these traditional accounts, apart from the gross misfit in dates, a daughter of Gangarāja II marries Bue' Raia, Raja of Nagara-Caray, one coss east from Madura and Hucca-bucca builds Vijayanagara as Hariharaya. He was, besides, a messenger

[137] *E. C.*, VI, Md. 25.
[138] *E. C.*, XI, Ml. 31.
[139] Buchanan, Vol. II, pp. 268–70.

in the train of Śankaradevarāya, a prince sent to visit Tuluva by Campi Raya of Penukonda who drove out the Mlechhas in 506 A.D. It is difficult to say whether this statement implies that the Deogiri Yādava was sent by the Raja of Kampili to Ballāla's court. According to another tradition recorded by Buchanan on 17th February 1801,[140] Harihara-raya's conquest was in 1335–36. Yādavas of Anegondi reigned for 54 years; Campina Rayas for 30 years. Then Daria Soructa cut off Campina Komāra Rāmanātha's head in 849–901 A.D. If we take the story to be true and approximate the dates we know of for several of the recorded incidents, we shall find that at this period when Kumāra Rāmanātha was slain, Pratāpa Rudra's kingdom was under the Muhammadans and, likewise, Deogiri. The account continues that thereafter Hucca and Bucca, both the *Bhandāra Cāvilas* (*gollars*) of Pratāpa Rudra, came to Sri Mahāvidyāraṇya Mahāsvāmi (who, according to Ramappa, was guru to the late king, and the eleventh successor of Śankarācārya on the throne at Sringeri) and solicited his favour. The Mahāsvāmi visited God and acted according to his orders. In seven years, the whole city was fully built.[141] In the year *Dātu*, being 1258 of the era of Śālivāhana (1335–36 A.D.), on the seventh day of the moon in the month of Vaiśāka, being Wednesday under the constellation of *Mocca*, in *Abhijin Muhūrtha*, and in *Singa lagna*, he took Hucca and Bucca, the guards of the treasury of Pratāpa Rudra. To the man he gave *Pattavun-cutty*, act of crowning (a ceremony like our coronation) and gave him the name of Harihara Rāyaru. The whole kingdom was given to him in the year of *Kaliyuga* 4437 corresponding to 1335–36 A.D.

In another account, as given by Rāmappa, according to Buchanan again,[142] after the overthrow of their master, Pratāpa Rudra Deva, Harihara and Bucca took the opportunity of establishing a kingdom in the southern parts of the countries

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[140] *Ib.*, p. 277–78.

[141] This is considered improbable by Sewell.

[142] *Ib.*, p. 282.

which formerly belonged to princes of Andhra descent and to the southern provinces of Pratāpa Rudra, added those of Ballāla Rāyas. They undertook a pilgrimage to Rāmeśvaram and, while on their way, met the Guru of the late king at Hampe, a village on the opposite side of the river from Anegondi, where Vijayanagara was subsequently to be built. When they conferred with this mighty Brahmin, he retired into a celebrated temple of Śiva, who is worshipped in Hampe under the name of Vīra-pacsha.[143] Here the God was consulted and the Brahmin declared that he was ordered by the deity to crown Hucca and to build Vijayanagara. Ferishta is then referred to. There is no evidence forthcoming who the late king was. Could it be Rāmanātha, or Ballāla III ? It is difficult to say as the date is not known.

On April 5, 1801, at page 416 of his Journey, Buchanan gives another *Rāya paddhathi*, according to which Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya was the son of Campila Rāya who was the son of Comāra Raja.[144]

This was up to S. 1150 or 1227 A.D. Then, in the year Sarvadhāri of this Raja Worangallu Pratāpa Rāya, the house guards of the treasury were Harihara and Bucca Rāya, who came to Vijayanagara. This year, on Monday the 5th of *Caitra*, they placed the pillar (a ceremony similar to the laying of a foundation stone) for building Vijayanagara and the Rajas were placed on a throne of jewels. A copy of the original account is said to be in the archives of the Bengal Government Secretariat as in the previous instance. Buchanan gives one more account on p. 534 in which again Pratāpa Rudra figures prominently.

Mr. A. R. Slater discusses the theory of Harihara and Bukka having been vassals of the Delhi Sultan at one time; he considers that they were perhaps serving under the Anegondi Rajas ; and he finally concludes that Wārangal, Dorasamudra

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[143] Virūpākṣa.

[144] *F. N.* This account strangely connects the Kākatīyas also with the Kampili chiefs and we shall soon find Harihara and Bukka also connected by relationship with all the three kingdoms.

and Anegondi joined in a confederacy to stem the tide of Muhammadan aggression in the South.[145]

Enough has been said in the previous lectures to show that Deogiri was not in a position to render any open assistance to the Hindu rebels in this part of the country, for the Delhi Sultan was still at Deogiri during this period. So far as Pratāpa Rudra Deva, the Raja of Wārangal is concerned, after the sack of his kingdom and his death, it was impossible to expect any help from that quarter, although there is an account suggesting Kanya Nāyak's apostasy from Islam and the loss of Kambila. But, it may be possible that private negotiations and intriguing may have been going on with a view to help Ballāla to establish Hindu supremacy in the South. So far as Anegondi, Kampili and Kummaṭa Durga are concerned, it has to be remembered that the Kampili kingdom was destroyed by the Muhammadans in 1327 and annexed to the Delhi Empire. If this was the result of a twelve years' war, there could have been no opportunity for the rulers of these places to take any decisive part in the origin of empire at all events.

Before we proceed, however, to the activities of the Hoysalas in the great foundation, we may consider at some length, one or two matters. It may be mentioned, at the outset, that according to Dr. Venkata Ramanayya, who has published two articles in the Christian College Magazine and subsequently in book form, Konkan and Malerajya were parts of the Yādava kingdom of Deogiri.[146] On the death of Śankara Deva in 1312 A.D., they passed into the hands of the rajas of Kampili. There was bitter enmity between them and the Hoysalas.[147] In 1327 A.D., Kampili rajya was annexed to the Delhi Sultanate.

Then, again, Harihara and Bukka were growing in importance and were in a position to declare their independence

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[145] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 49.

[146] *Xn. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1929. Also *Kampili and Vijayanagara. Cf.*, *A. S. I.*, 1907, pp. 235–37. An article contributed by Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri.

[147] *Ib.*, p. 15.

about 1340 A.D.[148] Epigraphical evidence when tested by the narratives of the Muhammadan chroniclers and Portuguese travellers will not, to follow this writer, conclusively establish the theory of Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar that Ballāla employed Harihara and Bukka to command the impenetrable barriers of garrisons against the Bahamani invasions[149] and that the Hoysalas conquered Madura under Ballāla. For, apart from the absence of literary or popular traditions in support of such a theory, Ballāla's frontiers as a matter of fact never extended beyond the frontiers of modern Mysore and there were three wars between Kampila and Ballāla III, according to the inscriptions. Ballāla never, therefore, conquered these territories and had no opportunity of placing any garrisons there. The fact, therefore, that in 1352 A.D. three Hindu chieftains Horaib, Kapraz and Kampraz were governing the territory extending to the south of the Bahamani Kingdom from the Konkan Coast to the east of Bijapur while Mārappa and Muddappa were ruling the Maḷe and Mulbagal rajyas will not lead us to infer that they were protecting the Hoysala Empire from the north.

Mr. M. H. Ramasharma has contributed a series of very interesting and highly instructive articles to the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* on the same intriguing subject. He has based his accounts on certain manuscripts, brought to light for the first time and a personal and detailed inspection of the locality.

From the account of Kumāra Kampana's conquests, we learn that Kampana proceeded from his viceregal headquarters at Mulbagal into the Tondaimandalam of the Sambhuvarāyans and, with the help of Gopanna and Saluva Mangu, swept the country clear of Muhammadan garrisons throughout the localities, killed the Muhammadan governor of Madura and restored Srirangam. Mr. Sharma says that the exact political condition of South India during this period and the gathering together

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148 *Ib.*, p. 20. Compare also Venkataramanayya, *Vijayanagara: Origin of the City and the Empire.*

149 *S. I. M. I.*, pp. 181–82.

of the southern states under Vijayanagara can be gleaned from the following: (i) *Kamparāyacaritam* or Madhura Vijayam by Ganga Devi, wife of Kampana. It is also called the epic of Gangadevi. (ii) *Jaimini Bhāratam* in Telugu. (iii) *Saluva-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (iv) *Rāma-abhyudayam* in Sanskrit. (v) Vaiṣṇava works on hagiology, *Prapannāmrutam, Ācārya Sūkti Muktāvali.* (ii) to (v) confirm the epic of Gangadevi. (vi) Nanjunda's *Paradāra-Sōdara-Rāmanāthana Kathe*, Madras MSS. No. 1525, 18–22–9 Catalogue: Oriental Manuscripts Library. (vii) *Rājakālanirṇaya*, Madras Oriental MSS. Library. (viii) *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* in Sanskrit. Basappa Nāika of Keladi (1698–1715), and (ix) Inscriptional references.

It is unfortunate that the series of articles contributed by Messrs. Sharma and Venkata Ramanayya were not available to Rev. Father Heras, or he would certainly have brought to bear upon them his penetrating analysis.

Nanjunda's account in *Paradāra Sōdara Rāmanāthana Kathe* describes the second attack on Kummaṭa by the Sultan's troops under Nemi Malluka, in order to proceed to Karnāta and destroy Kummaṭa. Preparations were made on a vast scale on either side. The Sultan's army crossed the river Kṛṣṇa and advanced against Kummaṭa Durga which was strongly fortified by Kampila. There was an unexpected night attack on the Sultan's forces and in the morning the fortress was besieged on three sides and brought Kampila on the scene. The besiegers were driven out, Rāmanātha's sudden presence unnerving the Muhammadans who were compelled speedily to withdraw. After this victory, Rāmanātha rejoined Kampila. The Sultan was very much displeased when Nemikhan arrived at Delhi and narrated these events. Thereupon, a woman Mātangi undertook to proceed to Kummaṭa and Hosamalé, humiliate Kampila and bring Rāmanātha captive. On hearing this, Rāmanātha still further strengthened the fortifications of Kummaṭa. In the early struggles, the besiegers were unsuccessful but before the final assault, there was an offer made to Rāmanātha to surrender Bahadur Khan[150] and to marry

[150] *i.e.*, Bahāudin.

the Sultan's daughter but he did not agree. Another unsuccessful attempt was thereupon made. Then, Brahmin disciples of Vādi Vidyānanda[151] were sent to him to Maleyakheda repeating the proposals which were again rejected. A terrible war ensued with mutual slaughter on the battlefield. Bhava Sangama fought on the side of Rāmanātha. At last, the Muhammadans succeeded, the town was in flames, Rāmanātha lost heart, *Johor* was prepared for the ladies, and valuables were collected and sent to his brother Katanna and Bahadur Khana. A fresh charge was made with surprising vigour by Katanna, Bahadura, Sangama and Rāmanātha in the centre. In the melee, Sangama deva, Katanna and the brave young Bahadura fell and Rāmanātha himself was killed by an unknown hand. Mātangi took triumphantly the dead body of Rāmanātha which was subsequently retured to Kummaṭa. This is the portion of the account which is of some historical interest to us. Vādi Vidyānanda, Mātangi and Bhava Sangama are new names first appearing in this account. A new place Hosamalé is also mentioned.

In *Cannabasava Purāṇa*, a Kannada work completed about 1584 a king Kampila is referred to as ruling in Hosamalé. His son Rāmanātha was building Kummaṭadurga. From there, he was carrying on depradations into the neighbouring territories and was famous. On hearing this, the Sultan of Delhi despatched 90,000 horse to Kummaṭa and in the war that followed the city was destroyed.[152] Another work of Lingaṇṇa Kavi, *Keladi Nṛpa Vijaya*, refers to the vast prowess in arms of Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of Kampila Rāya,[153] while *Rājakāla-nirṇaya*[154] says that subsequently to the fall of Vīrarudra (the Kākatiya), two persons of *Kuru Vamśa*, a treasurer and usher went to Rāmanātha and joined service under him as guardians

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[151] Looks a Vaiṣṇava name.

[152] Kānda 5 : Chap. 9 : verses 77 and 78.

[153] *Mysore Oriental Library*, Chap. IX, verse 30 ; *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 9.

[154] *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib.* See *Kampili and Vijayanagara*. Appendix A, p. 34.

of the treasury. *Śiva Tattva Ratnākara* repeats this version, and refers to the place as Silāpuri. Young Bahadura who died in the fight according to Nanjunda's account is identified with Bahāuddin of Ibn Batuta by Ramasharma. His account is thus: "After the fall of Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal, two persons (Hukka and Bukka) fled southwards and took service under Kumāra Rāmanātha, son of a certain Kampila. The Sultan of Delhi, Muhammad bin Tughlak, according to Nuniz, having heard of Kumāra Rāmanātha's exploits, sent a big army to crush his growing powers. At this news, both father and son retired to a newly built fortress called by various names, Kuṁmaṭi, Kummaṭe, Crynmaṭa and even Silāpuri. Here, Rāmanātha put up a heroic defence; but being overpowered, was finally killed."

Mr. Ramasharma says that Hosamalé is south of the Virūpākṣa temple and covered with a forest. The great hill of Hosadurga or Hosamaledurga or Canniga Rāmana durga was in the middle of this forest and close to this was another town Kummaṭa or Kummaṭadurga.[155] He considers Silāpuri also to be in the vicinity.

We may, in passing, refer to the ancestry of Kumāra Rāmanātha. According to the accounts contained in the articles from which we have now been freely drawing, it will be found that Rājādhirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri had four sons of whom the last was outcasted. When Deogiri was captured by the Muhammadans, this prince entered service with the ruler of Citrakūta durga. Born in this family was Mummadi Singa (referred to in Madras Local Records, No. 40). The descent may be fictitious; but we are told that his son was Kampila, variously known also as Kampa, Kampila deva and Kampa rājendra. Katanna was another of his sons, Kumāra Rāmanātha was the third, while his daughter Māramma married Sangama deva previously referred to as Bhava Sangama. Kampila ruled over Kuntala with Hosadurga as capital. He led several campaigns against Ballāla, Vīra Rudra and others. The Sultan of Delhi acknowledged him as a rival.

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[155] *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 11.

His son was Rāmanātha, after whose birth, Kampila assumed royal titles.[156]

Kampila Rajas and the Hoysalas were frequently at war, the chief source of dispute being that the Hoysala frontier touched the Kampili kingdom. Border raids led to constant friction. Once trouble arose because Ballāla would not give some hounds he had with him to Rāmanātha. At another time, it was a fight for a horse. During one of these raids, Ballāla marched through Bāguru pass in the Hosadurga Taluk of the Chitaldroog District to take revenge. In the fight that ensued, a well-known general Bhava Sangama is said to have taken part, assisting Katanna.[157] Mr. Ramasharma refers to *Bagavalu and Cittanahalli grants in the Hassan Supplement*, pp. 131 and 52 on which he relies. In the war, Muhammadan cavalry appears to have been employed on either side. In the course of the bitter scuffle, we are told Soma, perhaps the brother-in-law of Ballāla III, and Baicha Dannāyaka represented to their respective rulers that it was not meet that they should be fighting, when the enemy Suratrāna was at their door, for if he pounced upon them, the result would be disastrous to both. Peace was entered into and later on Rāmanātha in whose favour his father resigned, became king.[157] Another fight of Ballāla against Vira Rudra in which also Sangama participated is mentioned.

An interesting account of the war between Kampili and the Delhi Sultan is given. The origin is said to be that a daughter of the Sultan became enamoured of Rāmanātha on seeing a picture of his; when he refused her hand in marriage and territorial advantage, war was resolved upon. In an exhibition for skill in archery Bahāudin (Badura) being successful became a Mallik and territorial magnate. The displeased nobles set up the Sultan against him, and hearing he was attempting the throne, his execution was ordered. Thereupon, warned betimes, Badura fled South for refuge and in Kampili, the son prevailed upon his unwilling father to give him succour.

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[156] *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 90.
[157] *Ib.*, pp. 90–92.

Nemi Khan then was ordered to advance south.[158] If this commander be Mallik Kaffur, the incident conflicts with the version of the Muhammadan writers. Besides, there does not appear much warrant for these statements from recorded history so far.

In *Kumāra Rāmana Sāngathya* of Ganga,[159] King Kampila son of Mummudi Singa, a Bedar by caste, is described as a great warrior and the vanquisher of the Turukas. He was a Śaivite devotee of the God Jatinga Rāmeśvara. Rāmanātha was an able and distinguished warrior; even at sixteen he was a famous wrestler. He humbled the powerful Ballāla and routed Nemi's invading army. Bhava Sangama was a favourite son-in-law of Kampila.[160] Bandari (*gollar*) Bukkaṇṇa is referred to.[161] The death of Sangama and Badura is reported twice. Kampila survives Rāmanātha whose head is taken to Benares, after its return from Delhi and transformed into a linga. Harihara, Bukka (Bhuka) and others were called by Kampila for the purpose and accompanied him.[162] At the zenith of his power, Rāmanātha is described by various titles. Of these, capturer of Ballāla's forces and victor over King Ballāla may be mentioned.[163] There was rejoicing at the court of Kampili and a festival of pikes was held which was attended by Sangama deva of Udayagiri, Pamparāya of Penukonda, Bhava Sangama, Mayideva, Sayideva, Bhandārada Harihara and Bhandārada Bukkaṇṇa.

From these circumstances, among others, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya infers that the expansion of Kampila's territories provoked jealousy amongst the neighbouring rulers of Wārangal and Dorasamudra. He refers to the defeat of the Hoysala when their respective forces met near Anegondi and says that

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158 *Ib.*, p. 93.

159 *Ib.*, p. 94.

160 *Ib.*, pp. 99–100.

161 See Supplement to *Q. J. M. S.*, Oct. 1929.

162 p. 15.

163 *Ib.*, see also *Q. J. M. S.*, XX, p. 103. "Bhandārada Harihara and Bhandārada Bukkaṇṇa."

it was then that the Hoysala made overtures for peace.[164] But the account does not refer to the defeat of the Hoysala. He further says that subsequent to the peace between the two rulers, Rāmanātha went to help Ballāla against Wārangal and returned victorious.[165] Whatever these events may be, we have to remember that ultimately Kummaṭa became the seat of a Muhammadan province and a garrison was placed there about 1327–28.[166]

What was the position of these several rajas subsequent to this date, is the next important point for consideration. Then, what happened to Harihara and Bukka and where did they go? Assuming that they were originally Telugu refugees, related to the royal house of Wārangal,[167] and later on they were in the service of the Raja of Kampili where they rose to positions of trust and responsibility,[168] does it follow from these, that Vijayanagara sprang up from the ashes of Kampili which had its root in the empire of the Yādavas of Deogiri?[169] Do these facts militate against the theory that they were in the Hoysala service and rose from thence?[170]

In my consideration of this subject, I am prepared to concede, for the sake of argument, that the Kampili rajas were related to Deogiri kings, through Mummadi Singa,[171] that there were wars between Ballāla and Kampila,[172] in one of which a Ballāla general killed Kampila or some one else;[173] and that Kampila and Kumāra Rāmanātha are historical

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[164] *Cf. Ib.*, p. 18.

[165] *Cf. Q. J. M. S.*, XX. p. 103. "Ballāla bala balu bamdikara; "Ballāla bhūpathia ganda."

[166] *Xn. Coll. Mag.*, Oct. 1929, p. 256; IX Quarterly series; also *Kampili and Vijayanagara.*

[167] *Ib.*, p. 257.

[168] *Ib.*, p. 267.

[169] *Ib.*, p. 268.

[170] *Ib.*, p. 267.

[171] *E. C.*, VII, Ci. 24 (1280); XI, Dg. 26 (1300).

[172] *M. A. R.*, 1913, p. 119; *E. C.*, VIII, Nr. 19 (1320). Kapila deva.

[173] *E. C.*, XII, Tp. 24 (1325).

personages, the latter of whom is eulogistically referred to in the inscriptions.[174]

We get a clue to the appreciation of the whole situation in the fact that Muhammadan historians do not connect the Kampili rajas with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire. All these accounts to which we have referred further agree in their association of Vidyāraṇya with this remarkable incident. With the impending fall of Kampili, if Bahāudin was not killed as recorded in some of these accounts, where did he go, who sent him, and to which place? That he was taken prisoner, flayed alive and his flesh cooked and sent to his ladies at the instance of the Delhi Sultan appears correct and has been already referred to. The only ruler then free was the neighbouring king of Dorasamudra whose frontiers abutted on the Kampili kingdom. There had been then peace between the Kampili raja and himself. It is not unlikely that Harihara and Bukka, just as they had fled once before to Kampili from Wārangal, might on this occasion also have gone to Ballāla, another ruler, perhaps accompanying Bahāudin. I have already stated how it was impossible for the Delhi Sultan to make permanent arrangements for the government of the Kampili rajya and send an armed force for his chosen deputy Harihara. Nor was there much need for such a course, when Ballāla had delivered up the fugitive Bahāudin.

In a country devastated by a continuous war extending over a long period (if not for twelve years) it could not be expected that Harihara and Bukka would be able to raise an independent army of their own; nor had they the money to pay it with. Besides, a friendly attitude towards Ballāla would have been more helpful to them, even if they were inclined towards raising a standard of revolt later on. If Harihara and Bukka were vassals of the Delhi Sultan, there should have been evidence of encounters between them and Ballāla, subsequent to 1327–28. Even if they were in a position to declare independence in 1340, of which it may be

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[174] *E. C.*, VIII, Tl. 23.

permissible to entertain a doubt, they could not have been in that position five or six years previously. Further, there is no evidence that they were paying any tribute to the Sultan of the Delhi Empire as a token of their allegiance and loyalty.

Dr. Venkata Ramanayya attempts to controvert the statement that the sway of Ballāla III was recognised all over his dominions and that there was no weakening of authority during 1335–40. He says, following Krishna Sastri, if Ballāla was constantly on the move it was in order to check the growing influence and authority of Harihara.[175] He admits there are no inscriptions describing the relations between the two powers but suggests when inscriptions refer to Ballāla and his generals fighting on the northern frontier, it must be against Vijayanagara rulers.[176] He cites *Rājakālanirṇaya*, according to which Harihara and Bukka soon after their return from Delhi attacked Ballāla and defeated him ; they renewed the attacks time and again and ultimately defeated Ballāla and wrested his dominions. Dates for these events are not given. Inscriptions of Bukka I and his subordinates are stated to allude to the wars against the Hoysalas.

(1) *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 2. Mallinātha claims greatness over the Hoysala army. [Bukka is at Hosapaṭṭaṇa in the Hoysaṇa country.]

(2) *E. C.*, V, Pt. I, Hn. 19. Tippa Rāja (subordinate of Bukka I ? or Son ?) captured Uchchangi.

(3) *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 25. Tippaṇṇa Vodeyār and Teppada Nāgaṇṇa, sabhāpathis of Bukka, were unwilling to give up Sosevur in the Hoysala country. [Original doubtful.]

(4) *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 46. Bukka freed from the enemies a hundred royal cities counting from Dorasamudra and ruled over an empire perfect in seven parts.

(5) *M. A. R.*, 1925, No. 84, p. 73, 1354 A.D. Bukka was ruling at Hosapattana, after making the Hoysala kingdom an ornament to his arms, that is, after conquering it.

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[175] See *A. S. I.*, 1907–08, pp. 235–37, by H. Krishna Sastri on the "First Vijayanagara Dynasty".

[176] *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 29.

(6) The struggle began again about 1336, when Harihara who was governing the Konkan pushed southwards and built a fortress at Barakura. Ballāla's generals advanced to check it.[177] Harihara attacked again when Ballāla hastened to the place.[178] After 1339, Harihara took it. Before 1342, Konkan was under Vijayanagara; perhaps even before 1340, when Ballāla retired from the place.[179]

I am not sure how far these references can be relied upon for the statement that Ballāla and Harihara were constantly at war. It may possibly be that Harihara was restive and trying to set up an independent kingdom; he may have been an unruly subordinate at the most; and, judging from the conditions of the period, absence of the monarch at a distance may have been utilised by a viceroy towards asserting a little independence. Mallinātha's claim does not refer to any place or the nature of the encounter. Unwillingness to give up Sosevur may be an act of regard for the birthplace of the Hoysalas. The other inscriptions relate to the greatness of the Hoysala dominions and incidentally help us to identify Hosapattana with Vijayanagara and thus resolve the doubts regarding its foundation.

Besides, as against these, we find inscriptions recording private grants for the success of the sword and arm of Ballappa Dannāyaka in the Mulbagal rajya of the Kolar district, in 1337–39.[179] Similar records regarding Vijayanagara are not forthcoming.

After annointing his son, Ballāla must have left Dorasamudra about 1340, in order to meet the aggressive policy of the Sultan of Madura who began to attack the Hoysala kingdom. In the same year, he was residing for some time at Unnamalepattana, making preparations. When Ahsam Shah, Sultan of Madura, was murdered, succeeded by Allauddin, Ballāla took advantage of this opportunity, led a very large

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[177] *Report of Epigraphy*, 122 of 1901.

[178] *E. C.*, V, Ak. 183. I, p. 55.

[179] From Sturrock's *South Canara Manual*. Harihara's attack not mentioned.

and mighty army as far as Rāmeśvaram where he planted a Pillar of Victory in 1341. He died in 1342.[180] Ballāla IV ascended the throne in 1343,[181] Ballappa Dannāyaka having been long associated with the government in the kingdom. Fresh war commenced in 1343 and continued for some time.[182] Ballāla IV's authority was not recognised by all and petty chiefs began to set up, one of them even assuming Hoysala titles.[183] A commander of the Hoysala army Ballappadannāyaka, married a daughter of Harihara I in 1346.[184] These incidents lead us to infer that petty risings had to be subdued before Vijayanagara authority could prevail and be firm. When Hoysala power was crumbling, this was but natural.

Another reason given is that there is no Vijayanagara inscription in the Hoysala Empire prior to 1342, when the whole of the west coast was in their hands. The Raicūr Doab with the Krishna as the true boundary comprising all the territory belonging to the Anegondi family belonged to Harihara and he was, therefore, the heir of the Anegondi family. I can only say that the conclusion does not follow from the premises.

The Sultans of Madura were never in hostile relations with the Delhi Emperor and no reason is given why these Imperial vassals, Harihara and Bukka, did not give trouble to Ballāla on the northern frontier when he marched against Madura. Inscriptions attest ceaseless conflicts between Muhammadans and Ballāla in one of which he fell fighting. If, again, Harihara and Bukka conquered the Hoysala country, why was it not annexed to the Delhi Empire? When did they shake off their allegiance and declare independence? In his book on Kampili and Vijayanagara, on pp. 26–27, Dr. Venkata Ramanayya quotes Barnī[185] and says that before 1346 Kampili

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180 *E. C.*, VI, Kd. 75.

181 *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105; IX, Bn. 111; Rice: *M. & I.*, pp. 107-8.

182 *E. C.*, X, Ct. 53, 1337; Kl. 54, 1339; Bp. 28, 1339.

183 *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16, 1343; Ct. 89, 1344; IV, Hs. 114, 1344.

184 *E. C.*, VI, Hg. 112, 1343.

185 Elliot and Dowson, III, p. 247.

formed part of the dominions of Sultan Muhammad. Kanya Nāyak, the apostate, is said to have come from Wārangal like Harihara and Bukka previously.[186] He relies on Nuniz and *Rājakālanirṇaya* for the rest of his account which we have given before.

If, again, Harihara and Bukka were vassals of the Delhi Sultan and declared their independence only in 1346, the theory of Hindu effort to combat Muhammadan aggression on which he also relies, in the South falls to the ground.

I am, therefore, inclined to believe that Ballāla III must have greatly assisted in the foundatin of the Vijayanagara Empire. Absence of Vijayanagara inscriptions prior to 1342 further supports this view.

Ballāla's alleged foundation of Hosapattana, Virūpākṣa-pattana, Vīra-Vijaya-Virūpākṣapattana, Virūpākṣa, Hosadurga, Hosabeṭṭa, Hampe, Vijayanagara, in 1328 or 1329 is said to be an absolute myth on these grounds :—

(i) No inscription refers to Ballāla founding any city as alleged.

(ii) There is no inscription of Ballāla at Hampe.

(iii) The inscription (A.S. 1926) of Someśvara, grand-father of Ballāla III, does not prove that Hampe was included in the Hoysala dominions.

(iv) On the other hand, there is Kampila's inscription at Hampe. (L. A. M. 46.) Prasanna Virūpākṣa temple on the Hemakūṭa Hill was built by him. On the fall of Kummaṭa in 1327 in the war against the Muhammadans, Kampila went to Delhi. Immediately afterwards, the Sultan marched against the Hoysala who surrendered. Ballāla III could never have mustered sufficient courage to found a capital at the time, more particularly because the Delhi Sultan was then still at Deogiri. Therefore, Bukka and Hukka were not feudatories of Ballāla III.

If we should look at the facts related by Nuniz and the corresponding facts taken from Mussalman, Hoysala and

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[186] Nanjunda's *Ballāla Rāyana Yuddha.* Mac. MSS. 19-2-14, *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 26.

Vijayanagara history, with full references thereto and noting the errors in the account of Nuniz, it will perhaps be suggested that (i) a king of Vijayanagara is referred to before the existence of the city itself (Bisnāgar) ; (ii) six nobles, including a minister, withdrew to a house during the slaughter of the king and the rest of his army ; (iii) one of these became the founder of the empire ; (iv) Muhammad Tughlak sent a new Hindu king to the South in order to put down the rebellions there against him ; and (v) a Muhammadan is therefore responsible for the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire.

Now, what are the facts ? All accounts agree that the person responsible for the foundation of the city of Vijayanagara was one who had been imprisoned by the Delhi Mussalmans ; he had been taken prisoner to Delhi ; and he was subsequently released. Who was this king ? Nuniz describes the new Hindu king of Bisnāga, appointed by Muhammad Tughlak as Deorao, who was originally imprisoned and then set free by him and who thereafter returned to the country. According to the Mussalman historians, the invasion of the Hoysala Empire took place in 1310.[187] Vira Ballāla III waited for the enemy at Dorasamudra[188] and Allauddin Khilji had been at war with him ever since that period.[189] As stated previously, he was defeated and killed in 1342 by the Sultan of Madura.[190] The place of his death referred to as Beribi has been interpreted and identified with Chirichi or Tiruchi by Dr. S. Krishnaswamy Aiyangar. Muhammad Tughlak had transferred his capital to Deogiri for some time.[191] During this period, there was a rebellion in Multan and later on in the Eastern Provinces.[192] Then, Muhammad Tughlak left Mallik Naib Imad-ul-Mulk as commander at Wārangal but Hasan Kangu rebelled against him at Deogiri, defeated

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187 *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, App. A, p. 35, *Vidyāraṇya Kālajñana*, Mc. MSS., p. 45 ; Ferishta, *Briggs.*, I, p. 427.

188 Ferishta, *Briggs*, I, p. 373.

189 *Cf. Supra* and previous lectures.

190 Ibn Batuta, *Voyages*, IV, pp. 196–98 : *E. C.*, VI, Kd. 75.

191 Ferishta, *Briggs.*, pp. 419-20.

192 *Ib.*, pp. 419–25.

and killed him.[193] We are not concerned with the events that led up to the foundation of the Bahamani Kingdom. To continue our narrative, Sewell describes Deorao as the general title of the Vijayanagara kings.[194] There is no evidence that Harihara or any other of the supposed founders of the Vijayanagara Empire, Kampa, Bukka, Mārappa or Muddappa bore such a title or surname. On the contrary, Ballāla III has been described as Vīra Ballāla Devarasa.[195] After being taken prisoner to Delhi,[196] he was subsequently released and sent back to his own kingdom,[197] according to one inscription and the accounts of Muhammadan historians. A raja of the Carnatic who was defeated by Mallik Kafur in 1310 is described as 'Bilal Dev.'[198] In the inscription[198] it is distinctly stated that after the Turuka war, when his son returned from Delhi, Ballāla remitted certain taxes. It is not unlikely that Deorao referred to by Nuniz is Ballāla. We are confirmed in this statement by Ferishta's account detailed above. 'Bilal Dev convened a meeting of his kinsmen and resolved first to secure the forts of his own country, and then to remove the seat of government among the mountains.' He then 'built a strong city upon the frontiers of his dominions and called it after his son Beeja (Vija or Vijaya according to Heras), to which word Nugger or city was added so that it is now known by the name of Beejanugger.' Sewell discredits this version on the ground that it could not be built in a short time.[199] In the sixteenth century, Ferishta was in an exceptional position to obtain information regarding this matter in the famous city of Bijapura. The tradition was undoubtedly alive then. Further, we have heard of the *Abhiṣeka* of Ballāla III's son.[200]

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[193] Elliot-Dowson, III, pp. 257–58.
[194] *F. E.*, p. 298 ; *F. N.*, 2.
[195] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.
[196] Ferishta, *Briggs*,, I, p. 373.
[197] *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 68. Makkalu Vīra Ballāla Devarasa.
[198] Ferishta, *Briggs*, I, p. 373 ; *E. C.*, V, Hn. 51 and 52.
[199] *F. E.*, p. 29 ; *F. N.*, 2.
[200] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

He was called Vīra Virūpākṣa Ballāla Deva. Ballāla III himself was ruling in Sri Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣapura as his residential capital in 1339.[201] The name happens to coincide with that of Ballāla III's son also. Vijaya had been formerly prefixed to Hoysala cities elsewhere. Indeed, Dorasamudra itself was once called by that name.[202]

Then, Deorao was very old even as Ballāla III was,[203] and Harihara could not have been so old. If Bukka was eighty years old in 1379, his brother, however much older than himself, could not have been more than forty-three at the time of the foundation.

It is very significant, as Prof. Venkateswara suggests, that no Muhammadan writer has, so far, claimed on behalf of Muhammad Tughlak credit for the gift of a kingdom to Harihara and Bukka. There has been no charge of disloyalty or ingratitude against Harihara and Bukka levelled by the Muhammadan chroniclers, in spite of the fact that in later years they adopted quite an independent and a frankly anti-Muhammadan attitude. Barnī refers to the revolt of Wārangal. There is evidence that Vīra Rudra was the bulwark of Hinduism in the North where, in his time, he checked the Muhammadan advance. It is said that he showered a rain of gold on the poet Mallinātha.[204] It is further suggested that Harihara and Bukka who were in the service of Pratāpa Rudra came to Hampe in the course of a pilgrimage where they met Vidyāraṇya. A celebrated Śiva temple is referred to as existing there.[205] Buchanan says that Scott's translation of Ferishta agrees with *Rāya Paddhati*. We do not know what the inscription is which refers to the foundation of Vijayanagara by one of the sons of Rudra II.[206] However, *Rājakālanirṇaya*[207] says that, after the sack of Wārangal in

[201] *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.
[202] *E. C.*, XI, Mk. 12 ; V, Cn. 244.
[203] He was 82 years old in 1342. Ibn Batuta, IV, p. 198.
[204] *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib.*, No. 12281.
[205] Buchanan, p. 282.
[206] S. K. I., *Beg.*, p. 164.
[207] *Mad. Or. MSS. Lib.*, No. 12772.

1321, Harihara and Bukka fled for shelter to the Raja of Kampili whose name was Rāmanātha. This prince is also referred to by Buchanan.[208] In the course of his encounter with the Delhi Sultan, the Kampili Raja was slain and amongst the survivers who were taken captives were Harihara and Bukka. They were protected by the Sultan until, as stated in the earlier lecture, they were released as a result of a council decision. Harihara thereupon became king. To refer to Elliot's account relating to the sack of Wārangal, we find " about the same time one of the relations of Kanya Nāyak whom the Sultan had sent to Kambala[209] apostised from Islam and stirred up a revolt. The land of Kambala was also lost and fell into the hands of the Hindus."[210] This will prove, more than anything else, that Muhammad Tughlak was unable to protect his South Indian kingdoms. Perhaps, Kanya Nāyak was a Kākatiya noble who was carrying on private negotiations with the Hoysalas. There was a famine at Delhi in 1335–36 and the circumstances in the north forced Tughlak to concentrate his attention there. He could not be expected to be in any mood, much less afford, to send an army to set up Harihara and Bukka on the throne.

The only South Indian kingdom that had been comparatively free from the devastating effects of Muhammadan occupation was that which was established in the Mysore Plateau. No other kingdom was in the favourable position in which the Hoysala country was situated. This fact should not be forgotten in considering the importance of the political events of the period.

There is another view that Kumāra Rāmanātha was always at war with Ballāla III and that Harihara and Bukka who, along with their other relations, took part in these engagements were least likely to have surrendered their individuality to the Hoysala ruler Ballāla, to whom they were vastly

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[208] pp. 278–91.

[209] Perhaps Kampili, *cf.* Ibn Batuta.

[210] Vol. III, pp. 245–46.

superior in military prowess. This has already been considered and proved unacceptable.

### Was Vijayanagara in the Hoysala Country? and was Ballāla III Ruling there?

In dealing with Vijayanagara as a part of the Kuntala Deśa and the Hoysala country, known as Hosapattaṇa and by other names, I have already dealt in detail regarding this subject. Later on, while discussing the identity of Crynmaṭa of Nuniz, I have again referred to it. Vijayanagara has further been referred to as Hosamalé and Hosadurga. Hosamalé has been indentified with a forest in the vicinity of the Hampe ruins. I have further referred to the activities of Ballāla III in different parts of his territories at different times. If the Hoysalas were lords of Kuntala Deśa and if Vijayanagara was in the Kuntala country, it follows naturally that it must have been in the Hoysala dominions.

Gangadevi refers to her father-in-law Bukka I as Kuntala Bhūmi Pāla.[211] Vīra Bukka Rāyalu was ruling at Penukonda and Dorasamudra in 1352.[212] In 1354, he was at Hosapattaṇa. According to the *Epigraphia Carnatica*, Vol. XI, Cd. 2, it was in the Hoysala country. Bukka is the elevator of the Hoysala Empire. A Hampe inscription refers to Hoysalas implying its inclusion in the Hoysala kingdom at one time.[213] Besides, Ballāla III crowned his son at Hosapattaṇa,[214] where he was previously ruling and which was his residential capital.[215] A number of inscriptions refer to Ballāla's stay in his capital of Vijayanagara, by their then known names. An inscription of 1178 in Holal of the Bellary district mentions Nolambavādi in Kuntala Deśa; Rājamalla II, a Kuntala prince, gives in 1199 a grant to the Durga Pagoda, situated in

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[211] *Kampili and Vijayanagara*, p. 28.

[212] *Ep. Rep.*, 1908.

[213] *Q. J. M. S.*, XI, p. 21. *Cf.* also Venkataramanayya : *Vijayanagara Origins.*

[214] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105 ; *op. cit.*, IX, Bn. 111.

[215] *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43, *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, No. 17 of 1889.

the north of the Virūpākṣa temple.[216] If Vijayanagara was in the Kuntala Deśa and the Hoysalas were lords of Kuntala, it follows that Vijayanagara was in the Hoysala country.

It is not, given these premises, improbable that Ballāla III was ruling at Vijayanagara, then called Hosapattaṇa and by other names. Several inscriptions have already been referred to. That even Dorasamudra was known as a residential capital or ನೆಲೆವೀಡು is clear from the fact that Ballāla III was anointed in the residential capital of Dorasamudra on February 1, 1292.[217] Taking the dates for the movements of Ballāla III subsequent to 1328, we find him ruling in the residential capital of Virūpākṣapattaṇa in 1330.[218] In the following year, 1331, he was in Hosadurga.[219] Two years later, in 1333, he was at Hosabeṭṭa.[220] In 1339, his residence was Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣapura and he was king by his own sole valour. His relation and minister Dādi Somayya is also mentioned.[221] In 1340, he was at Hosanad.[222] Anointment takes place of his son Ballāla IV.[223] This is no other than Vīra Virūpākṣa Ballāla Deva who obtains the crown on June 28, 1343.[224] In 1342 again, Ballāla III is at Virūpākṣapura,[225] while in the previous year, 1341, on account of his victorious expedition to Madura and Rameśvaram against the Sultan's forces and erecting a Pillar of Victory, he bore the additional title of *Setu-Mūla Jayastambha*. From these, it will be clear that Ballāla III was ruling from Vijayanagara and that the identity of

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[216] *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 45.

[217] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 36. Avanasi, 189 of 1909 gives the date of Coronation as 31 Jan. 1292 A.D.

[218] *E. C.*, V, Ak. 66, 1330 ; Ś. 1252, *Pramoda, Aśvija Su.* 12, Monday. Stone inscription.

[219] *E. C.*, XII, Gb. 30. Virûpâkṣa-Hosadurga.

[220] *E. C.*, IX, Nl. 9.

[221] *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

[222] *E. C.*, IX, DB. 43.

[223] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 111.

[224] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

[225] *E. C.*, IX, Dv. 21.

Vijayanagara itself could not be looked for, as Mr. Rice once suggested, in the present Mysore country, but that it was the old Hosapattaṇa.

### Did Ballāla III transfer his Capital from Dorasamudra to Vijayanagara and if so why ?

The frontiers of the Hoysala kingdom abutted on those of Kampili. When Deogiri and Wārangal were subdued and Kampili was destroyed, Ballāla was practically obliged to deliver up Bahāudin. About 1327–28, at the time of the demand for the surrender of the fugitive, it does not appear that Dorasamudra was sacked or destroyed. In the palmy days of the Hoysala Empire, Perdore, the Kannada name for the river Krishna, was considered the natural frontier of the Hoysala dominions in the North. With the fall of Kampili, Ballāla III may have felt like extending his territory in that direction. Freed from the rivalries of Wārangal and Deogiri, at a time when the Sultan of Delhi had sufficient to occupy his attention in Northern India itself, this could not be considered an unnatural ambition. Furthermore, we have already noticed how the generals of Kampila and Ballāla advised their masters to make peace in order to combine against the Muhammadan rulers. The people of Deogiri and Wārangal kingdoms as well as the influential nobles therein may have made overtures to the one Hindu ruler who was yet comparatively free from the onslaughts and terror which Muhammadan conquest involved, to go to their rescue. At any rate, there was no other ruler in existence, so far as we are aware, who could have undertaken this task. If we watch Ballāla's constant movements from 1318 to his death in 1342 at Yalahankanad,[226] we shall observe that he was at Aruṇasamudra in 1318[227] and 1331[228]; at Dorasamudra in 1319[229] and 1334[230]; at

[226] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 34.
[227] *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 73.
[228] *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 71.
[229] *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 12.
[230] *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 7.

Uṇṇamale in 1328,[231] 1340,[232] 1341,[233] and 1342[234]; and at Vijayanagara as before stated. Uṇṇāmale is again mentioned in Bn. 41 of 1343, while the last Hoysala inscription we meet with is dated 1346.[235] Thus, Dorasamudra was not given up but operations had to be directed from the North which necessitated Ballāla having a number of capitals. It was also difficult to maintain a chain of communications in those days from the far-off capital with the forces in the North. For these several reasons, we must take it that Ballāla was on the move and resided in the northern parts of his dominions.

Rao Bahadur Krishna Sastri suggests that, in addition to the fear of Muhammadan invasions, fear of Harihara and Bukka may have induced a change of capital to Tiruvaṇṇāmale.[236] He considers them sufficiently powerful to exercise a predominating influence long prior to their declaration of independence. His reasons are the subjection of a Muhammadan chief at Honnavar to Harihara I (*Ibn Batuta*); Harihara's subordinate building a fort at Badami in 1340 (*Ind. Ant.*, p. 63); Bairasu Wodeyar's recognition of Vijayanagara overlordship by 1336 (*South Canara Manual*, I, p. 55); Harihara I building a fort at Barakur (*Ib.*, p. 65); Bukka I attacking a Hoysala town in the Shimoga district (*S. C.*, VII, *Intr.*, p. 34); Singanna Nāyaka (Hoysala feudatory) acknowledging Ballāla III in 1340 and appearing semi-independent in 1346–47. These have been dealt with elsewhere and if the view therein propounded that Harihara and Bukka were acting under Ballāla be accepted, most of the objections will disappear.

### What part did Vijayanagara play, if any, in the defence of the Hoysala Empire?

We have referred, in these pages, to Ballāla's rule in Vīra-Vijaya Virūpākṣapura as his residential capital, as the sole

[231] *E. C.*, IX, DB. 14, 18; Ht. 124.
[232] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 31; Dv. 54.
[233] *E. C.*, XII, Si. 10.
[234] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 21, 24, 129; Dv. 46.
[235] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 120.
[236] *Arch. Sur. Ind.*, 1907–08, p. 236.

monarch by his own valour ; to inscriptions at Hampe leading to the inference that it was included in the Kuntala kingdom which belonged to the Hoysalas ; and to Ballāla IV being familiarly known as Hampia.[237] He was crowned, besides, at Vijayanagara. Hampe was called after the heir-apparent, or Ballāla was named after the city. In either case, the relationship is significant.

During his lifetime, Ballāla III was often residing at Vijayanagara, for it must have been of considerable strategic importance from its geographical position. The construction of a capital on this side of the river, as opposed to Anegondi on the other bank, must have provided additional advantages of its own. By keeping the enemy at bay, at a distant outpost of the empire, it was possible to organise the army and collect provisions with greater security, if not also to maintain secrecy. Communications could be maintained more efficiently with allies in case of war.

Ballāla, after his release from captivity and return from Delhi, had restored Dorasamudra to its old condition and about the time of the Muhammadan attack on Wārangal, after a council of war, he had resolved upon securing and strengthening the forts of his empire. Tiruvaṇṇāmale and Hosapattaṇa thereupon became prominent fortresses. While Uṇṇāmale could look out and prevent the Sultan's forces from joining the army from Madura, Vijayanagara could be expected to withstand Muhammadan aggression from the North-East.

Vijayanagara was, besides, central to the Hoysala, Kākatiya and Deogiri kingdoms and if the origin of the empire could be said to be the result of a vast and united Hindu effort for the protection of the Hindu religion, the Hoysala Empire was then the symbol of revolt against the Muhammadan usurpation and Vijayanagara was its centre. That Harihara supported this undertaking of Ballāla is clear and that people throughout the Hoysala dominions prayed for the success of Ballāla's arms is also clear.

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[237] *E. C.*, IV, Yd. 29, Stone, 1342 ? Hampevodeya, son of Vira Ballāla Devarasa. Monday, *Chitrabhānu*, *Chaitra* 1.

Vīra Ballāla Rāya's (Father or Son) return from Delhi, after the Turuka war, was signalised by the remission of taxes by Ballāla III. In 1307, a Tamil stone inscription records a grant for success to Ballāla and Vallappa Dannaikker.[238] Likewise, in 1339 for Ballāla's son Periya Vallappa Dannaikar.[239] And there are other references. As regards the Vijayanagara rulers, there is likewise a grant for the success in arms of Bukkarāya, son of Harihara Rāya ;[240] while an inscription of 1346 describes Hariyappa and Bukkanna as ruling.[241] Another inscription in stone of the same year probably, *Vyaya*, *Vaiśaka Su.* 1, Thursday, refers to Ballālarāya without any epithets.[242] The Tekal people make a grant which is engraved on a rock and issued with the royal seal. Hariappa and Muthanna are referred to.[243] As we shall see later, 1346 was a year of outstanding significance in the history of the Vijayanagara Empire. It celebrated the festival of the empire. There are no records of the Hoysala after this year. We must take it that the traditions of the Hoysala emperors was carried on by the Vijayanagara kings. This is no unreasonable inference, for Bukka I was the elevator of the Hoysala Empire, he freed Dorasamudra and other cities from the ravages of the enemies of Hinduism, Vijayanagara generals were unwilling to give up the Hoysala birthplace Sosevūr, and Hoysala kingdom was an ornament to Bukka. The Vijayanagara kings assumed the titles of the Hoysala Ballālas and made Hoysala reputation all the greater by their wise and firm rule.

### Origin of the Sangama Dynasty

The father of Harihara and Bukka, and the other three brothers, Kampana, Mārappa and Muddappa was Sangama. This fact is beyond dispute. To which place he belonged and whether he was of Telugu or Kannada descent is, however, a

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[238] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 133.

[239] *E. C.*, X, Kl. 54.

[240] *E. C.*, X, Ct. 89, 1344. Date has to be verified.

[241] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59.

[242] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 120.

[243] *E. C.*, X, Mr. 39 (1346), Ariyavallappa, Harihara, etc.

question still to be decided. If Sangama held any office in the court of the Kākatiya, as his sons Harihara and Bukka are alleged to have, it may furnish another reason to assert that they were of Andhra or Telugu descent. If, on the other hand, they were feudatories of the Hoysalas, they will be of Karnāta extraction.

Buchanan and Wilks consider the emperors of Vijayanagara to have been of Andray or Telinga descent.[244] They consider Harihara and Bukka to have been officers of the treasury of the ruler of Wārangal. When the Kākatiya army was subverted by the Afghan army, these two brothers, warned by a vision, formed the project of the establishment of a new empire at Hampe, in which the spiritual and temporal guidance of Vidyāraṇya was of supreme assistance to them. The capital was named Vidyānagara, as a mark of respect to the sage and preceptor, and built in 1336, being completed by 1350. With this origin of the empire came Telugu ascendancy, both in language and at court. The government founded by foreigners was also supported by foreigners and in the heart of the Karnātaka country, a Telinga court was maintained by a Telinga army. This view also finds favour with Sewell,[245] Suryanarayana Rao,[246] V. A. Smith,[247] V. Rangachari[248] and N. Venkataramanayya. Even Rice says the Vijayanagara rulers may have descended from the feudatories of the Hoysala Ballālas or of Pratāpa Rudra of the Kākatiya family.[249] In this he is supported by H. H. Wilson who says the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire is generally admitted to have arisen out of the subversion of the Hindu governments of the Kākatiya and Ballāla rajas by the incursions of the Muhammadans in the beginning of the fourteenth century.[250] According to V. A. Smith, better authority exists for supposing them to have been Hoysala feudatories.

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[244] Buchanan, *Travels*; Wilks, *Historical Sketches*.
[245] *F. E.*, pp. 21–2.
[246] *N. F. E.*, pp. 19 and 148.
[247] *Ox. His. Ind.*, p. 301.
[248] *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 113.
[249] Rice, *Mysore*, I, p. 223.
[250] *Mack. Coll.* (Calcutta 1882), p. 83.

Sangama is said to have been the son of one Bukka.[251] Who are the Bukka and Sangama referred to here is not certain. Butterworth identifies Sangama's father with Bukkarāyalu, who receives a number of Birudas.[252] If the father of this Bukkarāyalu be a Reddy chief,[253] the explanation becomes difficult (says Heras).

I am inclined to agree with the view (of Heras) that the first Vijayanagara rulers were Karnātakās and that the ascendancy of the Aravīdu dynasty is perhaps responsible for the veneer of Telugu lineage to the founders. The inscriptions clearly go to show the Telugu parts of the Vijayanagara Empire to have been conquered territories and treated as such. The Kannada country was treated as their own. Harihara I was served by the kings of Anga, Kalinga, etc.[254] Bukka I reduced the rebellion in the Andhra country.[255] The Andhras ran into caves and holes in the frontier hills, defeated in their several attempts at independence both under Bukka I and Harihara II.[256] The Andhra defeat is referred to but not of the Hoysala or Kannadiga, who appear to have acknowledged Harihara and Bukka as legitimate successors of Ballāla III and Ballāla IV. The Hoysala rulers in their day had fought against the Andhra kings just as the Vijayanagara emperors had later on to lead armies and subdue their recalcitrant Telugu subjects. They must even have been harshly treated as we hear of their journeys to the Vijayanagara Court for redress of their grievances.[257] The king is the lord of the throne of Vijayanagara

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[251] *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46.

[252] *Ins. Nel. Dis.*, III, p. 1467.

[253] Butterworth, *Nel. Ins.*, II, 643.

[254] *E. C.*, X, Bg. 70 ; Butterworth, p. 113.

[255] *E. C.*, III, TN. 134 ; VIII, Tl. 201 ; X, Gd. 46, Mb. 158 ; VII, Ci. 13 ; VI, Kp. 25 ; XII, Tp. 9 ; *Mys. Arch. Rep.*, 1916, p. 59.

[256] *E. C.*, V, Bl. 3 ; Yavana, Turushka and Andhra hostile kings are mentioned. *E. C.*, IX, Hk. 34 (1399) refers to the third defeat.

[257] *E. C.*, XII, Pg. 82, 1401 A.D. ; 96 (1491 A.D.).

situated in the Karnātic kingdoms.[258] The Andhras did not easily submit to Vijayanagara supremacy but there is no record of any great Hoysala rebellion against Vijayanagara.

There does not appear to be much to warrant the inference of Venkayya to suppose that Harihara and Bukka were in the service of the Yādavas of Deogiri,[259] unless it be that they are said to have been employed by the Muhammadan governor there, or that they were allied to Rāmanātha, a descendant of Singa III.

The birudas of the Hoysala rulers and the Vijayanagara emperors bear a marked similarity and are almost alike. Further, the imprecatory verses of the inscriptions of both are generally the same. It is significant to notice that the attitude of both towards the Andhras and Kalingas is the same.[260] Further, the expressions used against the Andhra are borrowed from previous Hoysala inscriptions.[261]

### Who was Sangama?

Bhava Sangama was a valiant general, and inherited kingly qualities from his father Bukka.[262] I have already dealt with his alleged relationship to the Yādavas of Deogiri.[263] Fr. Heras discounts the inference of Mr. B. Suryanarayana Rao[264] relying on an epigraph in *E. C.*, V, 1295 and referring to one Bukkaṇṇa Odeyar and his father Hukkaṇṇa Odeyar as ancestors of Sangama.[265]

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[258] *Nellore Ins.*, Butterworth, pp. 542–43 ; Kundukur 30 (1520–21), p. 1155 ; Podili 4, 1514–15, Krishnadevarāya is the lord of Sri Karnata Vijayanagara, p. 1187. *Ib.*, 1515–16, 29, King of Vijayanagara of the Karnatic ; V. Rangachari, *Inscriptions in the Madras Presidency*, I, p. 171 ; Ginjee, 1383, *Mac. MSS. Karnātakarāja Savistāra-carita.*

[259] *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 12.

[260] *Cf.* with 256 *supra*, *E. C.*, V, Cn. 179 ; Ak. 62, 157, 138 ; XII, Tp. 128 ; VII, Sk. 95.

[261] *E. C.*, V, Cn. 179 ; Ak. 62.

[262] *E. C.*, X, Gd. 46 ; Mr. 150 ; Butterworth, *Nel. Ins.*, I, p. 113.

[263] *Ind. Ant.*, XV, p. 12.

[264] *N. F. E.*, pp. 163–64.

[265] *Begs.*, p. 75.

Sangama married

= Śarada. 5 sons. (Rice, *Mys. Ins.*, 227; *E. C.*, V, Bl. 3.)

= Mālāmbika. (*E. C.*, X, Gd. 46; Mb. 158.)

= Mānāmbika.

= Gaurāmbika.

= Galāmbika.

= Kāmāmbika.

= Kāmāyi.

= Kāmākṣi.

None of the inscriptions, all of which except one, which are to be found in Mysore, refer to Māramma.[266] Likewise, Sangama is called by many names formed from Sangama but never by the appellation of Bhava Sangama.[267]

Being a Kuruba by caste, he is said to belong to the Yādava Vamśa in the inscriptions, most of which refer to him as a king.[268] However, the sons brought reputation to the father,[269] whatever he may himself have been. His journey to Rāmeśvaram where he encouraged the learned is mentioned and he otherwise also became famous.[270] His praise as culled from the inscriptions is given by Heras on pp. 71–73 and I shall content myself with referring to his campaigns. In the *Mysore Archæological Report for* 1918, pp. 50–51, we are told that after performing the sixteen great gifts in Rāmeśvaram and other holy places, damming rapidly the Kāveri in full flood, he captured Tanjore (Tancha) and Srīrangapattaṇa and later on conquered Cera, Cola and Pāndya while he was besides lord of Madhura, Manubhuṣa, Turuṣka and Gajapati kings.[271] He enabled Lakṣmi, *i.e.*, the Karnātaka Deśa to wear permanently her earrings.

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[266] *Begs.*, p. 69.

[267] *Ib.*, p. 70.

[268] *Ib.*, p. 70.

[269] *Ib.*, p. 70.

[270] *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 372.

[271] See also *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, pp. 372–73.

If Sangama was such a great warrior and nobleman, and these are not purely hyperbolical expressions intended for adulation, in the prosperous days of the Vijayanagara kings belonging to the first dynasty of the Empire, and if any historical significance should have to be attached to the inscriptions giving very glowing accounts, the utmost we could do would be (with Heras[272]) to take the following conclusions.

Sangama was probably a nobleman and warrior, at the best a chieftain under the Hoysalas in the Karnātaka country, fighting some kings, capturing Seringapatam and advancing against the Muhammadans of Northern India and the Sultan of Madura.

As against other accounts connecting this Sangama with Deogiri and Kākatiya ruling families, Fr. Heras suggests and indeed identifies the ancestors of the first Vijayanagara dynasty with the family of Kesiraja. Enough has previously been said to negative the theory of a Telugu origin for Sangama. It has also been indicated that there is no inscriptional evidence of a reliable nature to connect Sangama with the Yādavas of Deogiri. Further, this relationship, if true, does not negative the hypothesis which Heras has developed in his lectures. For the genealogical tree of Kesiraja's family, I shall invite you to the table facing page 74 in Hera's book on the Beginnings of Vijayanagara. If Col. E. W. West is correct in his statement, and he gives no authority for it, that an officer formerly in the service of the Ballālas of Dorasamudra founded the leading kingdom of Vijayanagara,[273] we shall get a support for Heras' view that Harihara was related to the Kesiraja family, met with in the Hoysala inscriptions. Keśava-Camunātha was born in the Yadu Vamśa, his line beginning with the Hoysalas, and his family produced most important generals for generations. They were of the purple and a Karnāta family. Several names of this family are common to that of Sangama, *viz.*, Mādhava, Harihara, Devarasa, Mallappa.[274] If we accept

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[272] *Begs.*, pp. 73–4.

[273] *Bom. Gaz.*, I, Pt. II, p. 637.

[274] *E. C.*, V, Cn. 244.

that Mārappa, fourth son of Bukka, from Kalleśa acquired the kingdom of Chandragutti,[275] it is not improbable that Sangama came from Kalaśa in the Kadur district.[276] The Vijayanagara visit to Sringeri in 1346 A.D. may go to confirm this view. If the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara referred to in a Coorg inscription[277] be Harihara I, and Harihara I is described as comparatively old at the time of which we are speaking, it would go to suggest still more clearly that he was a Hoysala feudatory.

Father Heras in this connection also relies upon the statement in *Ferishta*[278] according to which, with a view to save his country from disaster, Bilal Dev (Ballāla III) convened a meeting of his kinsmen or relations, determined to fortify the forts of his country and suggests that the foundation of Vijayanagara was one of the results. This fact, taken together with the appointment of Harihara as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara on an important frontier, would go to suggest he was a near relative of the ruling monarch. Dr. S. K. Aiyangar says Harihara and Bukka were Hoysala feudatories directed to control and watch the northern frontier of the Hoysala dominions. That Harihara was the most prominent and responsible of his relations and that others occupied less important posts in the hierarchy of office is clear from the fact that a son-in-law was at Penukonda in 1333[279] and a brother-in-law at Chitaldrug in the same year.[280]

Dadiya Somiah was a Daṇḍanāyaka, a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara,[281] great minister,[282] king's house minister,[283] chief minister[284] and king.[285] He had contracted relationships with

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[275] *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.
[276] *Begs.*, p. 77.
[277] *E. C.*, I, Cg. 59, 1297.
[278] I, p. 427.
[279] *M. A. R.*, 1912–13, p. 40.
[280] *E. C.*, X, Gd. 16.
[281] *E. C.*, IX, Cp. 73 ; VI, Cm. 105.
[282] *E. C.*, IX, Kn. 69.
[283] *E. C.*, V, Cn. 73.
[284] *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 75.
[285] *E. C.*, IX, 43.

the Hoysala and Vijayanagara families and his sons were ministers under Ballāla III. Heras considers he had descended from Kesiraja. Two of his sons are referred to one of whom Singeya was a nephew (son) of Ballāla III,[286] related to him for a long time.[287] Perhaps, his mother was a sister of Ballāla III himself,[288] and he was a great minister of Ballāla III between the years 1318–43 A.D.[289] Another son Vallappa or Ballappa was great minister in the palace of Poysala-Sri-Vīra-Vallāla Deva in 1342,[290] and went with Ballāla III to fight the Sultan of Madura. After Ballāla III's death, a grant is made in 1343 for the success of the sword and arm of Vallappa Dannayikar.[291] He is referred to in a number of inscriptions.[292] One of them, (H.K. 96) describes him as a son (meaning nephew) of the Pratāpa Cakravarti Posala-Vīra-Valla Devar. He is the *aḷiya* or the son-in-law of the Sringeri inscription because he had married a daughter of Harihara I. *E.C.*, VI, Sg. 1 is of 1346. I do not now refer to its genuineness or otherwise and this stone grant is regarded as genuine on all accounts. Ballāla III died in 1342. This minister, a younger brother Dati Singaya, had a son born to him about 1330 called Tanan according to *E.C.*, X, Mr. 18. It is not unlikely that Ballāla III brought about this marriage. His high regard for Vallappa's reputation and honesty is clear from the circumstance that not only does he take him to accompany him in the most important battle of his life which proved tragic to him but suggests his regency on behalf of his son Ballāla IV. I have already referred to the recognition of Dadiya Somiah as king. Dadi Somayya in 1339 at Vijayanagara,[293] probably because he was a king of ministers, and we find Vallappa Dannayikar

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[286] *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 104.

[287] *E. C.*, IX, An. 80.

[288] *M. A. R.*, 1912–13, p. 40.

[289] *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 140, 140*a*; Cn. 10, 31; Bp. 63; *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16.

[290] *E. C.*, IX, Hk. 90.

[291] *E. C.*, X, Mr. 16.

[292] *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105; XI, Hk. 49, 90, 96; X, Bp. 10; Mr. 10, 12, 16, 18, 28.

[293] *E. C.*, XI, Hk. 43.

acknowledging the authority of Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, the champion over kings who break their word, Ariappa Udaiyar, his father-in-law, in 1361.[294]

These facts will further establish the view that Harihara and Bukka must have been Hoysala feudatories. There is not one inscription of the period which refers to Muhammadan overlordship.

### Descent of Sangama

In the earlier part of these lectures, I have referred to the various accounts in which the descent of Harihara and Bukka is traced from Mummudi Singa, of the Bedar caste, belonging to a family originating from the fourth and outcasted son of Rājādhirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri, who sought service with the chiefs of Citrakūṭa durga after the capture of Deogiri by the Muhammadans. This Singa III was a chief of the Kampili kingdom. Kampila's daughter was Māramma, sister of Kumāra Rāmanātha and she married Sangama. This Sangama Deva is referred to in the accounts as Bhava Sangama and he is described as having taken part in the wars between Kampili and Dorasamudra rajyas. The paternity of this Sangama is not given but the reference to Harihara and Bukka may, at first sight, lend colour to the inference of Venkayya that the ancestors of Harihara may have been in the employ of Rāmadeva of Deogiri.

The family god of Harihara like that of the Kampili kings was Virūpākṣa.[295] The boar crest may be said to have been borrowed from the Cālukyan emperors. What was the crest of Kampili or Anegondi chiefs we are unable to say. If the capital from Anegondi was changed to the other side of the river as a check against Muhammadan advance and if the anxiety of the Sultan of Delhi to reduce the kingdom at all costs be interpreted as a revenge towards the nobles of Deogiri who fled from his captured kingdom, there will be something to probabalise the account given in these traditions referred to by Mr. Ramasharma.

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[294] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 101.
[295] *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

But why was Bukka I's general unwilling to give up Sosevūr ?[296] Was it not because Harihara and Bukka were formerly under the Hoysalas ?

According to Dr. S. K. Aiyangar, who is the leading spokesman of the theory of a Karnātaka origin for Vijayanagara, the Kannada dynasty of the Hoysala Ballālas founded the Vijayanagara Empire. The repeated invasions of the Khiljis and Tughlaks alarmed the ruling families in the South, who thought of organised resistance. Krishnappa Nāyaka, the Kākatiya of Wārangal, laid the first stone for the foundation. The Hindu tradition of Vidyāraṇya's assistance to Harihara and Bukka may have support from some Muhammadan sources but the origin of Empire was more prosaic according to the Muhammadan historians. The struggle in the South for a distinct and independent existence has gone on for over two thousand years and the people have stood at bay the all-destroying forces of attack on Hinduism from the time of Aśoka. Consequently, the Vijayanagara episode is but an incident in that great struggle for securing national liberty by a sovereign ruler of Mysore, Ballāla III. A glance at the map will show that on the conquest of Deogiri and the defeat of Wārangal, nearest to the danger zone was the Hoysala, but he was conveniently placed to work unnoticed.[297] Dr. Aiyangar refers to Ibn Batuta's account for showing that Ballāla aimed at the conquest of the whole coast of the Coramandel and was able to put into the field 100,000 men, in addition to 20,000 Muhammadans as against a Muhammadan army of 6,000. Thus, though eighty years old, Ballāla could be expected to withstand Harihara and Bukka had they thought of advancing against him. It is impossible to believe any enmity between Ballāla and Harihara existed.

If we agree that *Rājakālanirṇaya* is not of much historical value as conceded by Gopinatha Rao,[298] admit that their capital was in the Kannada country as accepted by

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[296] *E. C.*, VI, Mg. 25.
[297] *Q. J. M. S.*, XI, pp. 13–14.
[298] *Ep. Ind.*, XV, p. 10.

V. Rangachari,[299] and take the statement of Rice that the earliest inscriptions of the Vijayanagara kings are found in Mysore,[300] we may explain the significance of the Bithuragunta grant of Sangama II.[301] It is a copper plate grant in Sanskrit but Telugu characters. (Fr. Heras says it is also an isolated inscription. His observations on this subject are note-worthy and are to be found on pages 61–65.[302]) Nikitin, the Russian traveller, refers to the Hindu Sultan Kadam who resided at Bichenegher,[303] from which Sewell suggests the implication to be a relationship with the old royal house of Banavase.[304] Rice has already indicated such an alliance possible.[304] This strengthens our belief that the dynasty was Karnāta.

### Relations of Harihara and Bukka with Contemporary Rulers, and with the Delhi Sultan—were they Vassals, and of Whom?

If Bhava Sangama was the father of Harihara and Bukka, and if Māramma was one of his wives, their relationship to Kumāra Rāmanātha and his father Kampila can be understood. Then, it will follow that Kampila belonged to the family of Mummadi Singa who was a descendant of the out-caste son of Rājādhirāja Rāmadeva of Deogiri. Any other connection with the Deogiri family does not find mention in any account. Deogiri was a Muhammadan kingdom and contained the capital of Hindustan long before the days of prominence attributed to Harihara and Bukka.

Then, for Kampili rajas has been claimed the credit of relationship with Harihara and Bukka. It has also been suggested that they and their father Sangama fought in their wars with Ballāla III. Inscriptional references are lacking to support this theory. Historians refer to Harihara and Bukka as refugees from Vira Rudra at Wārangal to the court of

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299 *Ind. Ant.*, XLIII, p. 113.

300 *Mysore and Coorg from the Inscriptions*, pp. 110-11.

301 *Ep. Ind.*, III, p. 21.

302 *Begs. of Vij. His.*

303 *India in the XV Century*, p. 29.

304 *F. E.*, p. 22; p. XXXVI.

Kampili Deva at Anegondi. It is further suggested that they may have afterwards gone to Ballāla III at Dorasamudra. These would not be inconsistent, even if true, with the theory of Hoysala overlordship. They may have left Anegondi finding their position there intolerable owing to war with the Sultan then going on for a considerable time. The only question is how far this would fit in with the view of Heras that they belonged to the Kesaraja's family as old as the Hoysala themselves, for which there is support in the marital connections between the Hoysalas and Vijayanagara kings. Acccording to the inscriptions, the person associated with the government of Ballāla IV, who is also a relation of Ballāla III, is associated with Harihara and Bukka and accompanies them to Sringeri on the occasion of the festival of empire in 1346.

I have already adverted to the proposition of the vassalage to the Delhi Sultan and endeavoured to establish that it was not likely Harihara and Bukka were the Muhammadan viceroys ruling at Anegondi, with a force sufficient to advance against the Hoysala and beat him. Ballāla had a powerful army, ready to put into the field, against any invading foe. There is no evidence of any scuffle between them in this part of the country. Indeed, after peace was restored, Ballāla and the Kampili kings are said to have marched against Pratāpa Rudra of Wārangal. Hence, even if Harihara and Bukka were in the service of Rāmanātha, there would be no inconsistency in presuming their later subordination to the Hoysalas.

### Enthronement of Harihara by Ballāla III

We have already observed that about the time of the conquest of the Kākatiya kingdom by the Muhammadans occurred the first important move of Ballāla III to Tiruvuṇṇāmalai. The object of this move was to strengthen the forts of his country on the northern frontier. I have further referred to the numerous inscriptions which record his residence at Tiruvuṇṇāmalai and Vijayanagara from time to time. I have also stated how private grants were made, from time to time, in different parts of the Hoysala dominions, for the success

of the sword and arm of Ballāla III, his officers and his army.[305] If we look at the inscriptions of the period, we will find that in 1297 one Harihara appears as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara in Coorg.[306] Between 1330 and 1340, four inscriptions describe him as residing in Vijayanagara. Only once in 1334, he is placed in Dorasamudra. There is no inscription of his at Uṇṇāmale till 1340. It may possibly be that after his visit to Dorasamudra in 1334, Harihara was made Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Shortly after, according to tradition, in 1335–36, the Empire of Vijayanagara was founded. That Harihara did not assert his independence is clear and even Dr. Venkata Ramanayya only suggests that Harihara was in a position to throw off any foreign yoke in 1340. There is no indication that he was able to do so in 1335–36. Besides, Ballāla IV was anointed at Vijayanagara in 1340.[307] Now, if Harihara built a fort at Barakur in 1336[308] and Ballāla paid a visit to it, perhaps by way of inspection, and saw the condition of his army there in 1338,[309] it follows that like the Hoysalas themselves who were ierly Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras under the Gangas, Harihara a viceroy of Ballāla. Because, in 1339, Ballāla was at yanagara, ruling in happiness, as sole monarch by his own ur.[310] This shows that three years after the foundation he kingdom, Harihara and Bukka could not have thought haking off Hoysala suzerainty. For, Ballālla could put the field a gigantic army besides Muhammadan mercenaries. Sultan's army at the time was not more than 6,000. Assuming that Harihara and Bukka were subordinates of the Delhi Sultan and could rely on his support, nevertheless it cannot be imagined that they would have dreamed of measuring swords with Ballāla at the time. Indeed, an inscription of the following year, 1340, found at Badami, where a Nāyak

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305 *Cf. E. C.*, IX, Ht. 100, 104.
306 *E. C.*, I, Cg. 59.
307 *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.
308 Sturrock, *South Canara Manual*, I, p. 55.
309 *E. C.*, V, Ak. 183.
310 *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43.

Chamaraja built a fortress, describes Harihara I as the glorious Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. Rao Bahadur H. Krishna Sastri, in his article on the First Vijayanagara Dynasty, stated that Ballāla's change of capital from Dorasamudra to Tiruvaṇṇāmalai was due not only as a defence against Muhammadan aggression but to the rising power of his feudatories Harihara and Bukka.[311] Even though this view of Krishna Sastri gains some support from the statement of Ibn Batuta[312] that a Muhammadan chief of Honnavar was subject to the overlordship of a heathen monarch Hariappa in 1342, and this Hariappa was no other than Harihara I as attested by numerous inscriptions, Heras does not agree with it. He is supported in his inference that Harihara did all this as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara, if we rule out the conflicts referred to in poetic accounts between Ballāla and Kampila in which Bhava Sangama took part with the *Bhandāra Cāvilas*, Harihara and Bukka, in the inscription of 1341 which describes Ballāla as being pleased to rule the earth in peace.[313] Unless Harihara was acting under the authority of Ballāla, we could not expect the Hoysala Emperor to neglect his subordinate chiefs in his own country and march against Sultan of Madura. For, we find him engaged in war with latter and in the course of a bitter struggle at Beribi (Chi being killed in 1342. Much less[314] could we expect the coronation of Ballāla IV thereafter. It may, however, possible to suggest that this meek and submissive prince g the much-needed opportunity for Harihara and Bukka assert themselves, as a consequence of which the Hoysalas fast disappeared from history. In an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears as a name without any distinguishing titles whatever.

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311 *A. S. I. Report*, 1907–08, p. 236.

312 IV, p. 68.

313 *E. C.*, X, Mr. 82.

314 *Ibn Batuta*, IV, p. 198.

## Relations between the Hoysalas and the Vijayanagara Princes

Hoysala inscriptions from Vinayāditya to Vīra Ballāla II acknowledge their allegiance to the Cālukyas and Ballāla II was the first to be styled emperor of the south.[315] This shows that a nominal recognition of the suzerainty is not inconsistent with an independent existence or activities as may be dictated by the circumstances of the time, including perhaps a war against the titular sovereign himself. Hoysalas themselves, in fact, behaved in this manner against their erstwhile masters, the Gangas. Just as the Hoysalas regarded themselves as the natural and rightful successors of the Gangas in Mysore, so Harihara and Bukka and their successors considered themselves as lords of Kuntala, kings of the Karnāta country and successors of the Hoysala Ballālas of Dorasamudra.

I have already drawn your attention to the fact that Hampe was in the Hoysala dominions, where Ballāla was ruling in happiness, as sole monarch by his own valour.[316] It had been christened as Srī Vīra Vijaya Virūpākṣa Pura, after Ballāla IV, to be anointed later on. That the coronation, as an emergency measure, of the heir-apparent of the Hoysala should take place in the capital of the Vijayanagara Empire is significant. It shows the terms of amity between Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara and Ballāla, the Emperor. Further, a son of Ballāla III was known as Hampiah, etc.[317] after Hampe, marking a further proof of the connection of the Hoysalas with the Vijayanagara capital. There is a suggestion, that Ballāla IV might even have been born at Hampe but the age of Ballāla is not given and it is hard to conjecture. There is no evidence to support an inference that Ballāla III had run away from Dorasamudra, or that he had sent his people for safety to Hampe and that about 1310 or thereabouts he was born there. On the other hand, the association of Ballappa Dannayika in the government of the country with Ballāla IV when he became king

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[315] *Q. J. M. S.*, VII, p. 292.

[316] *E. C.*, IX, Ht. 43, 1339.

[317] *Q. J. M. S.*, II, p. 129 ; *E. C.*, VI, Cm. 105.

goes to indicate that he may have been a minor about 1343 A.D. This negatives the hypothesis of his birth at Hampe in 1310 or 1311. But it could not have been this prince was taken captive to Delhi on the sack of Dorasamudra in 1310 and who had returned in 1316. In 1327, the theory of plunder of Dorasamudra is not generally believed and the only question that then arose was probably the surrender of Bahāudin.

If Harihara and Bukka accompanied Bahāudin, why was their surrender also not demanded and enforced by the Sultan of Delhi ? Is it likely that they were not considered of sufficient importance for the purpose ? Or, they being Hoysala feudatories, Ballāla took upon himself the responsibility for their good behaviour ? These suggestions conflict with the accounts of their captivity at Delhi and subsequent release. I am only putting forward a view for serious consideration. Harihara was perhaps a relation and was made Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara. In any case, Harihara and Bukka preserved the integrity of the Hoysala Empire, continued to recognise Hoysala grants, were ornaments of the Karnātaka country and were upholders of the religion and *dharma* of the Hoysalas.

## Loyalty of the Sangama Dynasty to the Hoysalas

From the enthronement of Harihara I as his Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara by Ballāla III, the position which he occupied in guarding the vulnerable frontiers on the northern side of the Hoysala Empire and the intimate relationships that existed between the Emperor Ballāla and the sons of Sangama, the feudatories may be expected to have stood loyally and faithfully towards their master. The circumstances of the period also demanded integration. Apart from a few stray incidents of an earlier time such as the scuffle at Barakur and the claims of Rāmanātha and Bhava Sangama to have humbled Ballāla, which we have endeavoured to explain, it will be seen that no war for supporting the majesty of the Vijayanagara arms was fought in the Hoysala country. Harihara and Bukka go to Sringeri in the very heart of the Hoysala Empire, far away from Vijayanagara, to celebrate what is called the festival

of empire, a field of the cloth of gold. They are acknowledged throughout the empire without a murmur as legitimate and natural successors of the Hoysalas. The Hoysalas do not run into holes and caves with the Andhras. Such wars as there were in which Ballāla III and his army took part were against the forces of the Delhi Emperor or the Sultan of Madura, not to speak of certain petty chieftains in the west who were subdued. The claim of Harihara II referred to in *M. A. R.*, 1916, p. 58, in the year 1384 can only be regarded as indicating the territory under his sway; for if it were that he really conquered all the kingdoms, the implication would be that his predecessors had left the empire in an unsettled condition, even with regard to those very portions of which they claim to have been masters; and evidences of war and rebellion in the Hoysala country would have been forthcoming. 1346 is the year which marks the exit of the last Hoysala Emperor Ballāla IV and the celebration at Sringeri by Harihara and Bukka of the festival of empire. Vallappa Dannayika who attends the festivities was associated with the administration of Ballāla's government. A peaceful and quiet transition, therefore, becomes evident. In that year, again, Harihara I's authority in the Hoysala Empire was also recognised.[318] I have also referred to certain remission of taxes issued with royal seal under Harihara in Malur. He appears with some of the common Hoysala titles, subduer of hostile kings, champion over kings who break their word, etc.[319] These identical titles are mentioned also in the Sringeri inscription. Six years later, Bukka was ruling at the Hoysala capital itself.[320]

It is not known whether Ballāla IV left any heir at all or whether Harihara was not the nearest of all his relatives then alive. Even if Mayili Nāyaka was a son, he must have died before Ballāla as he is not referred to after 1340.[321] However, a couple of years later in 1355, we find Harihara described as

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[318] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 47.
[319] *E. C.*, X, Mr. 39.
[320] *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1906, p. 522.
[321] *E. C.*, IX, Ma. 81.

Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara Harihara Rāya Wodeyar.[322] Likewise, in the same year, Bukka is described as a Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara ruling at Hosapattaṇa in the Hoysala country.[323] Further, an inscription of Bukka I refers to the country of the strong armed king Viṣṇuvardhana Pratāpa Hoysala[324] where he then resided, indicating the regard he had to the Ballāla country. The loyalty of the Sangama dynasty to the Hoysala may be said to be undisputed.

Fr. Heras reads into *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 and *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256 that when Ballāla IV died, Bukka took the place of Yuvaraja or heir-apparent, and that till then both were only Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. There is, in fact, no inscription which refers to them otherwise till 1346. Harihara is never called king but always Mahāmaṇḍaleśvara;[325] Bukka is so called in 1344 and in 1346.[326]

That the Vijayanagara kings always recognised their great debt of gratitude to the Hoysala dynasty is further exemplified by the fact that long after the last vestiges of the Hoysalas had disappeared, the rulers of Vijayanagara continued to be called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras like the Hoysalas before them with reference to the Cālukyas. Three inscriptions of Harihara between the years 1347 and 1355 and a number of inscriptions of the reign of Bukka for a period of close upon two decades describe the rulers of Vijayanagara who are lords of the earth between the oceans, east and west, as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. A list of them is given by Heras collected from the archæological publications, and the interested reader is referred to them.[327] Harihara II was the first to take away these distinctions of subordination and proclaim himself emperor; till then, princes, great chieftains and Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras

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322 *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

323 *J. B. Br. A. S.*, XII, p. 339.

324 *E. C.*, IV, Ch. 113.

325 1339–40, *Ind. Ant.*, X, 63; *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1; VIII, Tl. 154; IX, Bn. 47, 59; X, Mr. 61 (1346).

326 1344—*E. C.*, X, Ct. 89; 1346—IX, Bn. 59.

327 Heras, *Begs.*, pp. 111–12.

were they, thereby showing reverence to their political predecessors, in whose Karnātaka country, they held sway. The absence of the imperial title of Mahārājādhirāja indicates their love and affection and esteem and regard for the Hoysala rulers.

Ballāla III's enemies, the Emperor of Delhi and the Madura Sultan were alike the enemies of Harihara and Bukka. They freed the South from the Muhammadan yoke, and thus revenged the cruel fate of Ballāla III.

In concluding this portion of the subject, Dr. S. K. Aiyangar suggests that the strong position of the Muhammadans in the south of India was responsible for the delay in Harihara and his successors in assuming royal titles.[328] I do not know whether it implies Harihara and Bukka as Muhammadan vassals in the beginning but that view is hardly consistent with the development of his great theory that the origin of the Vijayanagara Empire was a supreme Hindu effort led by Vīra Ballāla in an organised struggle for separate existence and for the protection of the Hindu religion. This latter statement supports the theory of loyalty more than that of fear of the Muhammadan rulers by princes who celebrated the festival of victory in 1346, marching triumphantly from Vijayanagara to Sringeri, and they would not be likely to be afraid of proclaiming themselves as emperors, more particularly when there was no hostile army in their vast dominions.

Fr. Heras sums up the position of Harihara and his brothers with reference to the Hoysala Empire in these words: "Thus, the whole northern frontier of the Hoysala Empire was confided to the valour and loyalty of the sons of Sangama: Kampa, in the east, Harihara and Bukka in the centre, Mārappa in the west. Bukka himself was perhaps appointed governor of the ancient capital of Dorasamudra; evidently some of 'his kinsmen' whom Ballāla had convened to prepare for the defence of the Empire."

If *Ferishta's* reference to Bilal Dev convening a meeting of his kinsmen and to his arrangement for protecting the

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[328] *S. I. M. I.*, pp. 20–32.

forts of his country be in 1328, as it probably was, the fact is significant. On the conquest of Wārangal in 1327 by the Muhammadans, Kanya Nāyak or Krishna Nāyaka must have met Ballāla III in 1328. The meeting place must have been Tiruvuṇṇāmalai where we find Ballāla during the course of this year. The kinsmen referred to were probably his great ministers and generals Ballappa Dannayaka and Singeya Nāyaka, for they were also at this place at the time ruling the kingdom in peace and wisdom.[329] A number of other generals had joined Ballāla on the occasion. The strong armed Bhīmarāya, the princes Kaṭhora Hara, Simha-Raghunātha, Kāḷamegha, and Vīra Śānta, and Baicheya Dannayaka are mentioned, from which an inference is made that the question was of great and urgent importance. Kaṭhora Hara is identified as Harihara.[330] This gathers strength from an earlier inscription of Ballāla III,[331] mentioning Devappa-Hariappa immediately after the emperor and describing him as *Sarvādhikari*, thus indicating that Harihara was probably a minister for peace and war, a state officer of Ballāla, in that part of the country at the time.

### Birudas of the Two Dynasties

Let us compare the birudas of the two dynasties, Hoysala and Vijayanagara. We shall see it will be very interesting indeed. The Hoysalas were descended of the Yadu race and its great ornaments. They were in fact—

Ornaments of the Yadu Vamśa
Upraisers, kings of the Yadukula, and
Suns in the Yādava Sky, in the
Sky of the Yadu Kula, in the Yadu family.

Indeed, it was Yadu Vamśa which became known as Hoysala Vamśa.[332] If we should follow Heras' view that Sangama was born of the Kesiraja family, then he belonged to a line

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[329] *E. C.*, XI, Cd. 4.

[330] *Begs.*, pp. 123–25. *Cf. Venkataramanayyā's criticisms in his 'Origins'.*

[331] *E. C.*, VII, Sh. 19.

[332] *E. C.*, V, Hn. 65 ; Bl. 86, 171, etc.

where from the tree of plenty, Yadu Vamśa sprang as branches in the Hoysalānvaya.

The Vijayanagara kings even as late as 1355, the year perhaps when Harihara died and was succeeded by Bukka, are both called Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras. Like the Hoysala emperors, Bukka is also styled a destroyer of rulers, the conqueror of hostile kings, the lord of the eastern and western oceans, the punisher of kings who break their word, a thunderbolt to the mountain chains of hostile kings, a king at the brandishing of whose sword the earth trembles, a lion to the rutting elephants of the hostile kings, a crowning ornament to the wisest rulers, etc., etc. Most of these attributes, if not all, are the titles of Hoysala kings. They also became *Sarvabhoumas*.

Besides, like the titles, the pearl of the heroes of Yadu Vamśa, boon lord of Dvāravati pura, maintainer of the orders of the old kings of Hoysalanād, the imprecatory verses in the inscriptions of both dynasties in the Kannada language are the same.

### Relations between Harihara and his Brothers *inter se*

In our account, so far, we have sufficiently indicated the feelings that governed the rulers of Vijayanagara towards their erstwhile masters the Hoysalas. We have there found how reverential they were to the acts of the Hoysala emperors and to their several grants. It was only after Ballāla IV died, that Bukka became a Yuvaraja or heir-apparent.

Very few inscriptions mention Harihara I, probably because he was an old man and was all but eclipsed by his greater brother, Bukka. The other brothers were governing the different parts of the kingdom as viceroys. Harihara, Bukka, Mārappa, Kampana and Muddappa were five brothers and the relations between them must have been very cordial.

If Deo Rao be taken to be Harihara I and not Ballāla IV and if we follow Nuniz, we shall find that Harihara ruled for seven years and died, therefore, in 1343, calculating from 1336 the traditional date for the origin of the empire. If, on the

other hand, we equate Deo Rao with Ballāla III and still give seven years to Harihara, dating from 1346, the year of Ballāla IV's death, the date will be about 1353 A.D. I have already stated that, according to an inscription of 1346, Ballāla appears without any title whatsoever and there are indications to suggest that Harihara died in 1355 and was succeeded by Bukka I in the year in which both are described as Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras.[333] This also appears probable because it was in 1347 that the Muhammadans were able to throw off the Delhi overlordship and found the Bahamini Kingdom.

If Harihara I were to be succeeded by Bukka I and the relations between the brothers were cordial, there appearing nothing to the contrary, it follows that if Harihara had any sons they should have predeceased him. There is no evidence of any fratricidal strife for succession to the throne, or of the existence of a son after Harihara's death.

Kampana was performing the arduous task of keeping the Muhammadans at bay in the Nellore district on the northern frontier, Udayagiri being fortified as a bulwark against advance from Wārangal. Sangama II, son of Kampana, mentions Harihara I in the grant. Sāyana, the famous commentator and brother of Mādhava-Vidyāraṇya, was a minister at this court and if the suggestion of Vidyāraṇya being all influential at the Court of Vijayanagara be true, the consolidation of the Empire, with equal amity and good feeling amongst the brothers, gains additional weight.

Bukka I was the most famous of the brothers and accompanied Harihara to Sringeri in 1346, according to *E. C.*, VI, Sg. 1. During his brother's lifetime, he was made Yuvaraja.[334] As early as 1346,[335] both the Mahāmaṇḍaleśvaras, with their usual titles, Ariyappa Udaiyar and Bukka Udaiyar, were ruling the earth. This must have continued till 1355, the last reference to Harihara being in that year.[336] In that

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[333] *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 33.

[334] *E. C.*, V, Cn. 256.

[335] *E. C.*, IX, Bn. 59 (1346).

[336] *M. A. R.*, 1919, p. 23.

year, Bukka is said to have been ruling from the jewelled throne at the capital. It is not impossible that during Harihara's lifetime, Bukka was governing from Dorasamudra where he was ruling in 1352 as a Yuvaraja.[337] Heras makes a curious suggestion, not altogether without some basis, that Ballāla III might have left Bukka at Dorasamudra when he was constantly travelling about between his different capitals in the north. To a certain extent, this fact may have been responsible for the great influence which he was able to command in the Hoysala dominions in his day and for the peaceful condition of the empire. The easy transition of overlordship possibly indicates that Bukka was securing his position while Ballāla was absent abroad, entrenching himself upon the loving regard of the people. Not that he was traitorous in his designs but that a good, sound administration met with its inevitable sequel when the opportunity arose and times were propitious.

The fourth son of Sangama was Mārappa who was ruling Candragutti in the western parts called the *Malerajya* Araga kingdom. His expeditions are extolled in an inscrip- n of 1347.[338] The theory of Heras suggesting that he was originally Ballāla III's viceroy in those parts does not fit in with certain inscriptions which refer to Ballāla III running to that part of the country when a fort was built there and with his scuffles with Bhava Sangama. This question has, however, been already dealt with and no useful suggestion can be added. The Chief of Honnāvara in his jurisdiction recognised Harihara I.

Of Muddappa we know and hear nothing and he must have died before Harihara and Bukka came to prominence. All the brothers visited Sringeri in 1346 and naturally the others recognised the suzerainty of the eldest of them, Harihara I.

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337 *Mad. Ep. Rep.*, 1906, p. 522.
338 *E. C.*, VIII, Sb. 375.

# THE ÆSTHETIC APPROACH TO GOD*

## A STUDY IN THE ÆSTHETIC ELEMENTS IN BHAKTI

BY M. YAMUNACHARYA, M.A.

THE God of Religion is the source of the three ultimate values, Beauty, Goodness and Truth. These are intrinsic and not instrumental. They are not means to an end but are valued for their own sake. Unless we assume the objective reality of these values, they are reduced to figments of the imagination. These values are to be regarded as of the very essence of the reality of Godhead. Religious experience derives its sustenance from this assumption. The life of religion is the active pursuit of these ultimate values as converging in the concrete personal God of religion. The objective reality of these values as constituting the essence of what religion calls 'God' is partly a matter of human experience and partly of faith. 'Faith' is a much-abused word and needs a precise definition. Prof. Gilbert Murray understands by it "some attitude not of the conscious intellect but of the whole being, using all its powers of sensitiveness, all its feeblest and most inarticulate feelers and tentacles, in the effort somehow to touch by these that which cannot be grasped by the definite senses or analysed by the conscious reason." He adds: "What we gain thus is an insecure but a precious possession. We gain no dogma, at least no safe dogma, but we gain much more. We gain something hard to define, which lies at the heart not only of religion, but of art and poetry and all the higher strivings of human emotion."[1] This is the "uncharted region of human experience" with which religion deals. The explorers into this region are the 'Mystics' of different religions of the world. The Star to which the mystics hitched their wagons is the Ideal of Divinity which is the combined Ideal of Truth, Goodness

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* A paper read before the Sanskrit Association, Central College, Bangalore (1935).

[1] *Five Stages of Greek Religion* (Thinkers' Library No. 52), pp. 7-8.

and Beauty. Each of these aspects of Divine personality has a special appeal to certain temperaments. Corresponding to these three facets of God's personality, three approaches are possible, *viz.*, the Rational, the Ethical and the Aesthetic. Those to whom the *Saundarya* or Beauty aspect of God has a unique appeal are a class of mystics whose avocation is the contemplation and enjoyment of God's beauty as it is reflected in Nature and the mind of man. Their approach to God is the æsthetic approach. This does not, however, imply that the rational or the ethical elements are lacking in the æsthetic experience of God. They are only thrust into the background. The æsthetically minded mystic has much in him that is akin to the artist, the musician and the poet. Creative imagination is in full play in all of them. The æsthetic mystics usually express themselves in song or dance. The poetical compositions which seem to be the fittest medium of expression for them are charged with rich emotion and form pieces of literature that perforce have something artistic in them and appeal powerfully to our artistic sense. But these are not artists for the sake of art. In them, art, religion and philosophy are mingled. They are supreme artists endowed with rich imaginative power and gift of utterance but they are artists who are adepts in what may be called the Art of Divine Love. Their cult is not the cult of the æsthete, the cult of beauty for beauty's sake, but the cult of beauty for the sake of God. It is not divorced from morality and philosophy. Aldous Huxley remarks: "Where beauty is worshipped for beauty's sake as a goddess, independent of and superior to morality and philosophy, the most horrible putrefaction is apt to set in. The lives of the æsthetes are the far from edifying commentary on the religion of beauty."[2]

The scientific approach to reality is the rational approach. The knowledge it aims at is logical knowledge. The knowledge derived in æsthetic experience is of a different kind. As Benedetto Croce puts it "knowledge has two forms: it is

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[2] Aldous Huxley: *Essay on The Substitutes of Religion.*

either *intuitive* knowledge or *logical* knowledge; knowledge obtained through the imagination or knowledge obtained through the intellect."[3] The Aesthetic mystic ranges over regions of the human spirit unencroached by the physical sciences. There can thus be no conflict between science and mysticism.[4] Sir A. S. Eddington clinches the argument in the following passage: "In the mystic sense of the creation around us, in the expression of art, in a yearning towards God, the soul grows upward and finds the fulfilment of something implanted in its nature. The sanction for this development is within us, a striving born with our consciousness or an Inner Light proceeding from a greater power than ours. Science can scarcely question this sanction, for the pursuit of science springs from a striving which the mind is impelled to follow, a questioning that will not be suppressed. Whether in the intellectual pursuits of science or in the mystical pursuits of the spirit, the light beckons ahead and the purpose surging in our nature responds."[5]

In India the fact has long been recognized that our intellect is powerless in guiding us in our exploration of these unmapped regions of the human spirit. The adept in *Brahma Vidyā* taught the novice to walk the sharp razor-edge path which would open in him the inner eye, an inner vision or an intuitive understanding by which alone he would be enabled to come into contact with the Ultimate Reality or *Parabrahman*. This idea forms the basis of the *Brahma Sūtra* aphorism '*tarkāpratiṣṭhānāt*'. According to the Vedanta, the goal of *Sādhana* or *Yoga* or psycho-physical system of discipline is to awaken in us the power of spiritual intuition[6] or *Divya dṛṣṭi* which puts us in intimate communion with the Divine Being. The *Ṛṣis* were called '*Mantra Draṣṭāraḥ*' seers of truth embodied in sacred formulary. The term '*draṣṭāraḥ*' implies the notion of the

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[3] Benedetto Croce: *Aesthetics*.

[4] Mysticism is defined by Will Durant as "the belief in realities or truths beyond the present reach of reason." (*Mansions of Philosophy.*)

[5] A. S. Eddington: *The Nature of the Physical World.*

[6] Intuition is defined as "The direct perception of meaning or truth, without conscious reasoning" (W. Durant).

immediacy and actuality of a vision of Ultimate Reality which gave the seers the ineffable experience called '*Brahmānubhava*'. This experience is not merely of the nature of theoretical knowledge but '*anubhava*' or experience as direct, vivid and constraining as sense-experience. The exalted state in which the seers had this experience is usually called 'ecstasy' a state of bliss or '*Ānanda*', a joy and peace that passeth understanding. When they come back as they do from this extraordinary state of exaltation of mind and body, they yearn again for a renewal of that experience. It is during this period of yearning that they strive to give expression to an inexpressible or '*anirvacanīya*' state of existence in a language which is far too inadequate to give expression to what they had experienced. This accounts for the somewhat strange allegorical or symbolical songs or poems into which they break out. Every country had these God-intoxicated men who enriched the religious life of the masses of people.

The path of realization of Ultimate Reality, through the aspect of Beauty, is known in India as *Bhakti Yoga* or *Prema Yoga*. Nārada's Aphorisms of Love and the Śāṇḍilya Sūtras, like Plato's *Symposium* are a treatise on the Science and Art of Divine Love. Socrates was initiated into this religion of Divine Beauty by Diotima, a seeress of Ancient Greece. This passage from Plato gives an inkling to this view: "For he who hath thus far had intelligence of love, and hath beheld all fair things in order and aright—he drawing near to the end of things lovable shall behold a *Being* marvellously fair, for whose sake in truth it is that all the previous labours have been undergone. And whoso being led on and upward by human love begins to see that Beauty, he is not far, I say, from reaching the end of all." The idea underlying this quotation is succinctly expressed by a modern poet Stephen Phillips in the lines

"For they
Seeking that perfect face beyond the world,
Approach in vision earthly semblances,
And touch, and at the shadows flee away."

This aspect of Platonism found a systematic exposition in the

philosophy of Plotinus[7] known as Neo-Platonism which influenced mediæval Christianity through St. Augustine. Many Christian mystics like Eckhart, Madam Guyon, Swedenborg claimed to have tasted the sweetness of God-communion. Certain Persian mystics known as Sufis[8] thought and felt of God in a similar way. The *Bhaktas* in India followed the same path known as the *Bhakti Mārga* and attained to a mystic vision of God's Beauty, the 'vision of the heart' (ru'yat al-Qalb) as the Sūfī described it.

Jayadeva's *Gītā-Govinda* is a rendering into the exquisite music of the Sanskrit tongue, of the poignant yearnings of a lover's heart haunted by the beauty of the Divine Lover. The Āḻvārs and other South Indian saints poured forth strains after strains vibrant with the thrills of union and pangs of separation from the Divine Lover. Their lutes had been attuned to "the music of the spheres". The Lord played on their heart-strings as a musician plays on the viṇā. The relation of the lover and the beloved with its deep and intense intimacy and longing struck the imagination of these pilgrims in the quest of the All-Beautiful as being the fittest medium of communion with the original source of all things. Their approach to God was the æsthetic approach. Rabindranath Tagore's *Gitanjali* is the song offering of a lover to the Beloved, in whom is perfect truth, goodness and beauty.

In understanding the Persian Sūfis and Indian *Bhaktas*, one must put himself *en rapport* with the traditional antecedents of these mystic poets which formed the warp and woof across

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[7] Plotinus was called by Moslem philosophers 'the Greek Master' (*al-sheykh al-yaunānī*).

[8] Reynold A. Nicholson says: "The word 'mystic' which has passed from Greek religion into European literature is represented in Arabic, Persian, and Turkish, the three chief languages of Islam by 'Sūfi'" (*The Mystics of Islam*). Prof. Edward Brown in his *Literary History of Persia* suggests that Sūfism may have originated as a reaction of the Āryan mind against a Semetic religion or by the result of the Neo-Platonic influence on Muhammadanism or as of an entirely independent origin.

which the shuttles of their thought and emotion flitted to and fro. They have woven for themselves a rich tapestry colourful of the ancient traditions of the country in which they lived. But beneath the local colour which is an inevitable feature of their utterances one could discern certain fundamental, human feelings and emotions and sentiments common to humanity throughout the world. For instance, the idea of the lover and the beloved which constitutes the great bulk of the world's poetry furnishes an analogy for them in the light of which they can dimly understand the relation of the individual soul with God. In this attitude, the mystics of the world are practically unanimous. As Prof. S. Radhakrishnan says: "If we interpret mysticism rightly, then there is nothing more remarkable than the perfect agreement of the testimony of the mystics far removed from each other in time and space, race and language." Human affection is the stepping stone to divine love. One whose heart is starved of affections can never be a *Bhakta*. In Indian mystic poetry, the story of love between Rādhā and Krishna symbolises the love between soul and God. Rādhā is typical of the human spirit longing for union with the Infinite symbolized by Sri Krishna. In the Dravidian mystic poetry of St. Nammāḻvār, a Vaishnava Mystic of South India, God is the *Nāyaka* and the soul is the *Nāyakī*. The *Śṛṅgāra Rasa* which constitutes the essence of love poetry is made to subserve the spiritual purpose of attaining communion with God.

The analogy referred to above between the communion of human lovers and the communion between soul and God is as old as the Upanishads. An Upanishadic passage runs thus "*Tad yathā priyayā striyā pariṣvakto no bāhyaṁ kiṁ cana veda nāntaraṁ, evam evāyaṁ puruṣah prājñenātmanā saṁpariṣvakto na bāhyaṁ kiṁ cana veda nāntaram.*" Swedenborg echoes this in his statement that ecstasy of God-communion is like "the dim silence in which the lovers lose themselves."

A complete survey of the manifestations of this idea in the religious experience of the mystics of the world would fill many volumes. Nothing more can be done in this paper

than to cast a rapid glance at some of the representative mystics of Persia and India.

The great Muslim philosopher Al Ghazzali, set forth the aim of the Sūfis to be "to free the soul from the tyrannical yoke of the passions, to deliver it from wrong inclinations and evil instincts in order that in the purified heart there should only remain room for God and for the invocation of His Holy Name." The mystics' single-minded devotion to God and the vision of God immanent in the Universe is expressed in the following lines by Jāmī, the Sūfi Mystic :

"I would be Thy lover, and Thine only—I, mine eyes
Sealed in the light of Thee to all but Thee,
Yea, in the revelation of Thyself
Self-lost, and Conscience-quit of good and evil,
Thou movest under all the forms of truth,
Under the forms of all created things,
Look whence I will, still nothing I discern
But Thee in all the Universe."[9]

One is struck here with the parallel of these lines in what Arjuna says when he is vouchsafed the cosmic vision, the *Viśva rūpa Darśana* in the *Bhagavad Gita.*—One other illustration of the fundamental unity of mystic experience.

Reynold A. Nicholson summarises the philosophy of Jāmī which is the philosophy of Sūfism thus : "According to Jāmī, Unification consists in making the heart single—that is, in purifying and divesting it of attachment to aught except God, both in respect of desire and will and also as regards knowledge and gnosis. The mystic's desire and will should be severed from all things which are desired and willed ; all objects of knowledge and understanding should be removed from his intellectual vision. His thoughts should be directed solely towards God, he should not be conscious of anything besides.

"So long as he is a captive in the snare of passion and lust, it is hard for him to maintain this relation to God, but when the subtle influence of that attraction becomes manifest in him,

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[9] Tr. by Hadland Davis.

expelling preoccupation with objects of sense and cognition from his inward being, delight in that divine communion prevails over bodily pleasures and spiritual joys; the painful task of Self-mortification is ended, and the sweetness of contemplation enravishes his soul."[10]

The philosophy of Sūfism found its poetical expression in a poetry of love full of what is ordinarily regarded sensuous or erotic imagery. Sūfi poetry is replete with references to the tresses of the Beloved, the veil which half-hid her face, her pencilled eyebrow, long eye-lashes, the musk with which the Beloved was perfumed, the down on her cheek, her coral red lips and the mole on her face. The bacchanalian symbols of the *tavern* and the *wine*, the voice of the reed and the melody of the harp complete the picture. These were the symbols through which the Sūfis expressed their intimate communion with God. This mode of presentation of their philosophy has often exposed the Sūfis to the charge of unabashed sensualism. Their mystical songs have been mistaken for drinking-songs. In Dr. Inge's view the Sūfis "have attempted to give a sacramental and symbolical character to the indulgence of their passions." Prof. Nicholson combats him by saying "that such a view of genuine Sūfism is both superficial and incorrect."[11]

The higher pantheism of "All is one", the monism which is a blend of Metaphysics and Mysticism was characteristic of the Sūfis. The Sūfis are zealous exponents of the 'Tat tvam asi' doctrine. Jalāluddin Rūmi of the thirteenth century, the greatest of Sūfi poets, gives expression to pantheism in the following lines:

"I have put duality away, I have seen that the two worlds are one;

One I seek, One I know, One I see, One I call. I am intoxicated with Love's Cup, the two worlds have passed out of my ken;

I have no business save carouse and revelry."[12]

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[10] *The Mystics of Islam*, pp. 83, 84.
[11] *Ibid*, p. 112.
[12] *Ibid.*

Here is the 'Tat tvam asi' doctrine plainly expressed:

"Ye who in search of God, of God, pursue,
Ye need not search, for God is you, is you!
Why seek ye something that was missing ne'er?
Save you none is, but you are—where, oh, where?"

Prof. Nicholson comments on this: "Where is the Lover when the Beloved has displayed Himself? Nowhere and everywhere: his individuality has passed away from him. In the bridal chamber of Unity God celebrates the mystical marriage of the soul."[13]

The Sūfi has no place in his heart for anything but God. Bābā Kūhi of Shīrāz, says:

"In the market, in the cloister—only God I saw.
In the valley and on the mountain—only God I saw.
Him I have seen beside me oft in Tribulation;
In favour and in fortune—only God I saw.
In prayer and fasting, in praise and contemplation,
In the religion of the Prophet—only God I saw.
Neither soul nor body, accident nor substance,
Dualities nor causes—only God I saw.
I oped mine eyes and by the light of His Face around me
In all the eye discovered—only God I saw.
Like a candle I was melting in His fire:
Amidst the flames outflashing only God I saw.
Myself with mine own eyes I saw most clearly,
But when I looked with God's eyes—only God I saw.
I passed away into nothingness, I vanished,
And lo! I was the All-living—only God I saw."[14]

Kabir is one of the most interesting personalities in whom Vedantism and Sūfism are happily blended. He clearly stood above the special creeds. Allah and Ram were the names of one God. The Sūfi symbolism is worked out in his poems. His delicate sense of intimate communion with the Divine Lover he expresses thus:

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[13] *The Mystics of Islam*, p. 119.

[14] *Persian Lyrics* (Benn's Augustan Books of Poetry).

"I played day and night with my comrades,
And now I am greatly afraid, so high is My Lord's palace,
My heart trembles to mount its stairs;
Yet I must not be shy, if I would enjoy His love.
My heart must cleave to my Lover;
I must withdraw my veil, and meet Him with all my body."[15]

We come into contact with the æsthetic spirit of the Religion of Love in the poetry of Jayadeva in his *Gita Govinda* and the Songs of Nammāḻvār in the Tamil Prabandhams, known as the *Tiruvāymoḻi* and *Tiruviruttam.*

Before we advert to the Art of Divine Love as revealed by Jayadeva, it is well to bear in mind the following from Hegel, the great German philosopher:

"In Art we have to do with no mere toy of pleasure or of utility, but with the liberation of the mind from the content and forms of the finite, with the presence and union of the Absolute within the sensuous and phenomenal, and with an unfolding of truth which is not exhausted in the evolution of Nature."

'*Raso vai Saha*' says an Upanishadic passage. *Rasa* may be taken to refer to the various phases of Love, according to the Indian science of emotions. *Rāsa Līlā* of which one hears in the *Bhāgavata Purāṇa* is the Divine Dance of Love symbolising the eternal dance of God with the souls ending in their marriage. The main emotion that dominates Jayadeva's epic is the emotion of love, the *Śṛṅgāra rasa* in relation to Bhakti or Love to God. It finally culminates in *Śānti Rasa* or the Emotion of Peace when the tumult of the soul ceases and tranquillity reigns supreme. The final experience of peace or *Śānti* in God is woven into the art or poetry of Love, *Śṛṅgāra rasa.* These *Rasas* have as their objective the Beatific presence of God.

The theme of the *Gita Govinda* is the passage of love between Rādhā, typical of the *Gopīs* and Krishna, the God of Love.

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15 *Kabir's Poems*, by Rabindranath Tagore.

Love is of the very essence of knowledge of God achieved by this means. As St. John says "He that loveth not, knoweth not God, for God is Love." It is said that "to the devout Vaishnava, the whole poem, unique for its soft and langourous style in Samskrit literature, is an allegory of the Soul, striving to escape from the distraction and allurement of the senses to find peace and rest in mystical union with God." A few quotations[16] from the poem will make this idea clear.

To the mystic poet, the stellar universe is the visible ornaments of the Lord:

"Planets are Thy jewels,
Stars Thy forehead gems,
Set like sapphires gleaming
In kindliest anadems;
Even the great gold Sun-God
Blazing through the Sky,
Serves Thee but for crest-stone,
Jai, Jai! Hari, Jai!"

God frees 'the spirit from Life's pain' by 'one swift piteous glance'. Rādhā is typical of a full-blossomed soul. Krishna is a searcher of hearts. She wishes that he should 'uplift her veil and learn at length what love is in its strength'. She waits 'to yield him up' her 'bosom's maiden splendour'. And finally:

"While gained for ever, I shall dare to grow
Life to life with him, in the realms divine;
And—Love's large cup at happy overflow.
Yet ever to be filled—his eyes and mine
Will meet in that glad look, when Time's great gate
closes and shuts out fate."

Rādhā is bidden to

"Grant at last, love's utmost measure,
Giving, give the whole;
Keep back nothing of the treasure
Of thy priceless Soul."

[16] The Translations from *Gita Govinda* that follow are from Sir Edwin Arnold's Translation of the poem.

Rādhā is 'His—ever,—ever His!

Like the dark touchstone that tries gold,
O Night! that trieth gold of love,
This love is proven perfect.'

One may read between the lines the profound religious feeling that animated the poet. We will be enabled to reconcile ourselves to the erotic language employed by the poet in giving expression to very intimate form of mystic experience if we remember what Evelyn Underhill says in the following passage: "The great saints who adopted and elaborated this symbolism (love and marriage), applying it to their pure and ardent passion for the Absolute, were destitute of the prurient imagination which their modern commentators too often possess. They were essentially pure of heart, and when they 'saw God' they were so far from confusing that unearthly vision with the products of morbid sexuality that the dangerous nature of the imagery which they employed did not occur to them. They knew by experience the unique nature of spiritual Love and no one can know anything about it in any other way." The Dravidian mystic and poet Nammāḻvār exhibits the fundamental unity of mystic experience in his *Tiruvāymoḻi*. This is another work of the type of *Gita Govinda* which has for its theme the quest for the God of Beauty. This is a Tamil poem of a little more than a thousand stanzas and is regarded as sacred as the Vedas themselves by devout Sri Vaishnavas. But the poem has a universal appeal which transcends the limits of creed and country. The poem is an allegory of the different stages through which the soul of man passes from its appearance in the body to its final absorption in the Supreme. The attribute of God known as '*Nalam*' which is the Upanishadic *Ānanda* or *Rasa* is the dominant note in all the utterances of this mystic poet.

Nammāḻvār (or Śaṭhakopa, his Sanskrit name) was steeped in the Aryan tradition of *Avatāra* and in consonance with it regarded Sri Krishna as the full or *pūrṇāvatāra* of Vishnu, the Supreme Being. He shares in the Vaishnava teachings of *kṛpā* and *Bhakti* and adopts the symbolism of

human love as the fittest medium through which he can approach God. In this he is the kindred spirit of the Sūfis. He was no doctrinaire or metaphysician but a simple and, it is said, an unlettered poet. His goal was the æsthetic experience of communion with God, the All-Beautiful. To him, as to many of the mystics, God was the Lord of the Universe to be wooed and won. His one aim in life was to drink deep the nectar of the Lord's Beauty. Legend has it that he never tasted a morsel of food but found his sustenance in the contemplation of God's Beauty. Every beautiful object he encounters in nature is of the vesture or garment of God. The stars shine forth the lustre of His eyes. The fragrance of flowers borne by the wind wafts to Him the sweet smell of the *Vanamālā* or the garland of unfading flowers that He wears. The happy smile of a baby or the tinkling laughter of pretty maidens at a *kōlāṭṭam* reflect the joy of the Lord dancing in the heart of His devotees. The parrot, the dove, the heron, the gazelle are messengers bearing the Lord's message of Love to all the world. The poet-mystic entreats these happy denizens of God's world to bear his own message to the Lord on high and remind Him of a forlorn maid whose heart is sick with separation from Him. The clouds that bear moisture from place to place are entreated to convey the message to the Lord. The blueness of the sky and the pleasant tint of gold and green of the early foliage of the mango remind him of the hue and radiance of the Lord's body. Such images as these fill the poems of this great poet who is artless in his art and make evident the æsthetic elements in his love to God, the Beloved. It is the experience of the Beauty of God that evokes all this imagery. We have here the sublimest nature poetry which is imbued with the spiritual purpose that lies behind.

The saint becomes a bride in order to fully enjoy the 'Lord of Bliss' irradiating the soul with ineffable beatitude. This sentiment is dramatised by Nammāḻvār into a lady-lover roaming in gardens, love-sick, plucking flowers and pouring forth her longings to the maid who accompanies her. There suddenly bursts on the scene the Lord in His full glory and

vanishes. The God-vision is vivid but fleeting. The bride feelingly appeals to the birds, the bees, the clouds and the winds to be her messengers to Him, her Holy-spouse. The mystic clings to God in a touching and tender way and finally enters into the peace of God. *Śānti* supervenes on *Śṛṅgāra.*

A similar experience is found narrated in the works of the Saiva Saints of South India. Mānikka-Vāchakar's *Tiruvācakam* is an example of it. One of those poems may be quoted here :

"Not even in dreams thought I of other gods,
The one most precious Infinite to earth came down ;
Nor did I greatness of the Sage Supreme contemn,
Who came in grace. Thus from the pair of sacred feet
Like shadow from its substance parting not,
Before, behind, at every point, to it I cling.
My inmost self in strong desire dissolved, I yearned ;
Love's river overflowed its banks ;
My senses all in Him were centred ; 'Lord' ! I cried.
With stammering speech, and quivering frame
I clasped adoring hands ; my heart expanding like a flower.
Eyes gleaned with joy and tears distilled.
His love that fails not day by day still burgeons forth."[17]

This is a rich tradition of which any country may be proud.

Spinoza, the God-intoxicated man, considered that " Love directed towards the Eternal and Infinite fills the mind with pure joy and is free from all sadness. Wherefore it is greatly to be desired and sought after with our whole might." No higher aim has ever been conceived by the mind of man.

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[17] Tr. by G. U. Pope.

# AḶAGARKŌYIL AND ITS INSCRIPTIONS

By V. Venkatasubba Aiyar, B.A.

Aḷagarkōyil is one of the few places in South India which has a continuous history from pre-Christian era. It is a small village situated picturesquely about twelve miles northwest of Madura at the southern foot of a range of hills which run across the Madura District for over ten miles. Its strategic position and close proximity to Madura, the capital city, soon recommended it as a favourite resort to Madura rulers who converted it into a fort with high walls surrounded by battlements, enclosing the Aḷagar temple and the royal palaces in the middle. The village has, in course of time, disappeared and the temple of Kaḷḷaḷagar alone now stands in tact amidst a mass of extensive ruins, which show clearly the patronage that this place received under the successive rulers of the Madura country.

The fortified area which is rectangular in shape covers a space of some 730 yards by 400 yards with a stone gateway in the south. From this gateway one has to pass through a big street lined on either side by a series of maṇḍapas, royal palaces and private dwellings, now in ruins, to reach the temple, which is again surrounded by an inner circuit of high walls with the main entrance in the east. The lofty gōpura with 18 steps, at this entrance, is the most venerated spot in the temple, next only to the central shrine; and it is frequently resorted to by the people of the district for settling their disputes. One such instance is recorded in detail in an inscription engraved in the temple which will be noticed in the sequel. The central shrine of Kaḷḷaḷagar temple is earlier in date than the rest of the buildings and is of the *vēsara* type of architecture, being a circular chamber with a circular prākāra round it.

The god in the shrine is called Aḷagar, Paramasvāmin or Tirumāliruñjōlai-Niṉṟaruḷiya Paramasvāmigaḷ. The hill and the village both came to be called after this god as Tirumāliruñjōlai, Tirumāl-kuṉṟam, Śōlai-malai and Aḷagar-malai.

Alagarkōyil is one of the eighteen places sacred to the Vaiṣṇavas in the Pāṇḍya country. The chief feature of this place is that the image of the god and the two goddesses on either side, are on the same *pīṭha*. There is no evidence now available to show when the temple was first built; one thing seems to be certain: Alagarkōyil did not start as a Vaiṣṇava settlement.

### Jaina Settlement

That Buddhism and Jainism were the prevailing religions in South India before Śaivism was established in the seventh century A.D., is known from early Tamil literature. With the withdrawal of royal support, Buddhism gradually disappeared from South India, but Jainism continued to thrive in the land along with the other religions, with the result that the latter counts thousands of votaries even to this day. Some of the kings of Kāñci, a few Pāṇḍya, Western Cāḷukya, Gaṅga and Rāṣṭrakūṭa kings were staunch Jainas and one or two of them even went to the length of persecuting other religionists. At the time of the Śaiva saint Jñānasambanda, there were several Jaina teachers in the Pāṇḍya country, whose names are preserved in one of his hymns on Tiruvālavāy (*i.e.*, Madura), where mention is made of Ānamalai, a village not far from Alagarkōyil, as a place of a Jaina settlement. The discovery of a number of caverns, especially in the Pāṇḍya country, throw additional light on the history of the Jainas in South India. One such cavern is found on the hill called Alagar-malai overlooking the road that runs from Alagarkōyil to Kiḍārappaṭṭi, about half a mile from the Kaḷḷaḷagar temple. The cavern contains a spacious hall about fifty yards broad and in size about thrice as big as the Tirupparaṅkuṉṟam cavern, with an excellent spring in its right corner. There are several stone beds of varying sizes scatterd single and in groups in the cavern, the biggest of them measuring 8′ 8″ by 3′ 1″, while the smallest is 6′ 4″ by 2′ ¼″. On the rock to the right of the cavern, is the figure of a seated image in the *siddhāsana* pose with a label in *vaṭṭeḻuttu* characters, stating that the image was the work of Ajjanandi. This personage, also celebrated

in the Tamil classic *Jīvikacintāmaṇi*, was a famous Jaina teacher whose name is found in inscription at Ānamalai (*A.R.* No. 64-74 of 1905), Aivarmalai (*A.R.* No. 692 of 1905), Uttamapāḷaiyam (*A.R.* No. 729 of 1905) and Vaḷḷimalai (*Ep. Ind.*, Vol. IV, p. 141). Ajjanandi's influence spread over almost the whole of Southern India and it seems fairly certain that the Aḻagar-malai cavern was at one time occupied by this Jaina teacher and his disciples.

### Brāhmi Inscription on the Aḻagar-malai

On the overhanging rock of this cavern is engraved an inscription in Brāhmi characters, the interpretation of which has hitherto baffled the attempts of Epigraphists. This is due to the fact that some letters in the inscription are not traceable in the Brāhmi inscriptions known to us so far. These are the letters peculiar to the Tamil language such as ற, ள, ண, ழ, etc. Mr. K. V. Subrahmanya Ayyar started with the supposition that an inscription which was meant to be understood by the people of the locality would not have been engraved in an unknown language. Starting with this idea and by a close study and comparison of allied scripts found in similar caverns in the Madura and Tinnevelli districts, he has been able to prove that the language of the inscription is Tamil and that it is engraved in the Brāhmi script with variations to adapt itself to the genius of the Tamil language. The date of the record is assigned to the third century B.C. The cavern inscription at Aḻagar-malai will therefore be one of the earliest inscriptions found in the Tamil country.

The text of the Aḻagar-malai inscriptions as recently made out is given below :

1. Vāṇigaṉ neḍumalān.
2. Vānigaṉ uḷanātan.

These must be the names of persons who occupied the caves.

3. Śikaṟamāṟaṉ tāṉa. May be interpreted as "this is the gift of Śikaṟamāṟaṉ."

4. Tāra aṇi kuḍupita avaṉ aṉkaṉam, *i.e.*, "Tāra Aṇi caused the cave and the drain to be made."

5. The word 'Mattirai' engraved here is probably Madura and "poṉ kulavāṉ" and "kūla vāṇigaṉ" are perhaps the names of persons who were dealers in gold and grains.

## Aḻagar kōyil Identified with Paḻamudirśōlai

From a Jaina settlement Aḻagarkōyil seems to have turned into a Hindu one in the time of Nakkīrar. In the *Tirumurugarāṟṟuppaḍai*, he refers to Paḻamudirśōlai as one of the six favourite places of Lord Muruga, which has been identified by scholars with Aḻagar-malai.

In fact, it may be inferred that Aḻagarkōyil must have been a Śaivite centre before it was changed into a Vaiṣṇavite one because

(*a*) the presiding deity is known only as Paramasvāmin in inscriptions,

(*b*) there are shrines to Vighnēśvara and Kṣētrapāla in the temple, where the *prasādam* is still the sacred ashes,

(*c*) there are shrines for all the minor deities of the Śaivite hierarchy within the fort, and

(*d*) much importance is attached to Karuppaṇṇa sanctum near which a Subrahmaṇya shrine is also said to have existed.

## References to Aḻagar-malai in *Śilappadikāram* and *Paripāḍal*

Aḻagarkōyil is also referred to in *Śilappadikāram*.[1] The place seems to have changed its creed by the time *Paripāḍal* came to be composed. It is described elaborately in No. 15 of this collection by Īḻam-Peruvaḻudi, where it is stated that in this place stood together the images of Kṛṣṇa and his elder brother Baladēva. The image of Baladēva described in the Tamil work has now disappeared. It was probably removed when the temple was rebuilt in later times when the Baladēva-cult had sunk to a position of inferiority in the estimation of Vaiṣṇava devotees.

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1 திருமால்குன்றத்துச் செல்குவராயின் (*Śilapp.*, 11. V. 91).

Among the Vaiṣṇava Āḻvārs who sang the praises of the god at Aḻagarkōyil are Poygai Āḻvār, Būdattāḻvar, Nammāḻvār, Kulaśēkhara Āḻvār, Tirumaṅgai Āḻvār and Āṇḍāḷ.

## Special Reason for Remembrance

Aḻagarkōyil is specially remembered by the Vaiṣṇavas because the image of Raṅganātha was hidden here when it was removed from Śrīraṅgam, fearing the onslaught of the Muhammadan invaders. This incident is noticed in the *Prapannāmṛtam* of Anantārya, a work dealing with the history of Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas in South India.

## Patrons of the Temple

We shall now try to set forth the inscriptional evidences for the history of the Aḻagar temple. This temple was early patronised by the Pāṇḍya sovereigns of whom may be mentioned Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara (1190–1217 A.D.), Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (1216–1237 A.D.), Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (1251–1264 A.D.), Māṟavarman Śrivallabha (1257–1292), Māṟavarman Kulaśēkhara (1268–1308), Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya (1283–1291 A.D.) and Jaṭāvarman Vīra-Pāṇḍya (1296–1342). The Hoysala Vīrasōmēśvara (1234–1264), the *māmaḍigaḷ* of Māṟavarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya II, the Koṅgu-Cōḷa rulers Vīrarājendra (*circa* A.D. 1231) and Vikramaśōḻa, the brother-in-law of Māṟavarman Vikrama-Pāṇḍya and the Vijayanagara rulers Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, Acyuta, Sadāśiva and Veṅkaṭadēva have all made some benefactions or other to this temple. *Rāyavācakamu*, a work in Telugu prose giving an account of the Vijayanagara ruler Kṛṣṇadēvarāya, states that the king halted at Aḻagarkōyil for three days after attending the Mahā-makha festival at Kumbakōṇam in February 1517. That Kumāra Tātācārya of Eṭṭūr, the spiritual *guru* of the Vijayanagara ruler Veṅkaṭapati I and who lived in kingly splendour at Conjeeveram in the latter part of his life, extended his influence as far as Tirumāliruñjōlai is evidenced by two inscriptions at Conjeeveram (Nos. 531 and 588 of 1919). Of the Bāṇa chiefs who held sway over the region round about Madura, special mention may be made of Māvali

Vāṇādarāyaṉ Uṟaṅgāvillidāsaṉ who renovated the temple. Among the Nāyaka rulers the name of Tirumalai-Nāyaka is closely associated with the construction of several maṇḍapas and palaces within the precincts of the temple.

### Earliest and Latest Inscription in the Temple

The earliest inscription in the temple is found on a pillar near the left *dvārapālaka* in the 'Āriyaṉ-maṇḍapa'. It belongs to the Cōḷa king Rājarāja I and is dated in his twenty-third year, *i.e.*, A.D. 1008. The full text of the inscription is not available, as one of the inscribed surfaces is obstructed by the main wall close by. This record refers to some land and the payment of its taxes but there is no reference in it to the temple. On the same pillar is also engraved an inscription of the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya king Jaṭāvarma Śiyan Śōḷa-Pāṇḍya, who was deputed by his father, the Cōḷa Rājēndra-Cōḷa I to take up the Pāṇḍya Viceroyalty. Incidentally, it may be pointed out here that a certain '*Śōla-Pāṇḍya*' throne is referred to in No. 306 of 1930 from Aḻagarkōyil. Probably, it was the gift to the temple by the Cōḷa-Pāṇḍya Viceroy mentioned above. The latest record found in the place is dated in A.D. 1842 and it relates how the well-known philanthropist Pachchayappa Mudali gave the annual interest on a lakh of pagodas for feeding pilgrims in the temple.

### Construction of the Several Parts of the Temple

As regards the renovation of the temple and later additions to it, there are some evidences in the inscriptions of the place. From the present construction of the temple, it is clear that excepting the central shrine, the other portions have been renovated at some time or other, as some of the inscribed slabs are misplaced and lost. By the year A.D. 1464, the temple was renovated from *upāna* to *stūpi* by Tiruvāḷaṉ Sōmayāji under the orders of Tirumāliruñjōlaininṟāṉ Māvali Vāṇādarāyaṉ Uṟaṅgāvillidāsaṉ. The *maṇḍapa* in front of the central shrine, where *prasādams* are now distributed was called "*Muṇaiyadaraiyaṉ tiru-maṇḍapa,*" after the name of the donor Ponpaṟṟi-Uḍaiyāṉ Moṇṇaippirāṉ Viradamuḍitta-Perumāḷ *alias*

Muṉaiyadarāṉ. This *maṇḍapa* was also called '*Kōyil alaṅkāraṉ tirumaṇḍapa*'. The *maṇḍapa* adjoining the *Luṉaiyaparayaṉ-maṇḍapa* was called the '*paḍiyētta-maṇḍapa,*' as one has to ascend a flight of steps to reach the place. It was built by Rāghavarāja, son of Tōmarasayyar̤, whose figure is also sculptured on a pillar in this *maṇḍapa* in a worshipping posture. This *maṇḍapa* is now known as the "*Āriyaṉ-maṇḍapa*". The pillars in this *maṇḍapa* were endowed by pious persons. The names of some of them are inscribed on the pillarṣ presented by them. Two of the pillars here were the gift of Kūttaṉ Attiyūrāṉ Sundarapāṇḍya-Vil̤upparaiyaṉ, a *veḷḷāla* of Tirumāliruñjōlai; another was the gift of Kurugūrnagarāṉ Bhaṭṭaṉ. The Mēṭṭu-Kṛṣṇaṉ maṇḍapa where the temple office is now held was constructed by Sundara-Pāṇḍya I (acc. 1251). It was known as 'Kōyil poṉmainda-perumāḷ tiru-maṇḍapam' *i.e.,* 'the *maṇḍapa* of the ruler who gilded the temple with gold' or simply, Sundara-Pāṇḍyaṉ-maṇḍapa. The image of the deity was invariably placed in this maṇḍapa, before it was taken out of the temple. The canopy of *Kulaśēkharan-pandal* and the *pīṭha* '*Chēdirāyaṉ-pāṭha*' of the god in this *maṇḍapa* are frequently alluded to in the inscriptions. It may also be pointed out here that the god had other canopies such as '*Tyāgancir̤iyāṉ-pandal,*' '*Tirumuttin-pandal*', etc. The eastern gōpura, that leads to the second prākāra was known as Toṇḍaimāṉ-gōpura, after the donor Toṇḍaimāṉār, the son of Kāliṅgarāyar of Sel̤uvattūr.

The *tirumadiḷ, i.e.,* the compound wall, was built by Al̤agar Tiruśir̤ukkar, an *ēkāki* Vaiṣṇava of the temple. This Śir̤ukkar is probably the same as Il̤ayavillidāsar whose repairs to the third *prākāra* are alluded to in two inscriptions. This wall was called '*Kōdaṇḍarāmaṉ-tirumadiḷ*' after the title of Jaṭāvarman Sundara-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1302 A.D.). The courtyard in front of the temple, where sculptured four-pillared maṇḍapas are now found, was known as '*Etirājaṉ-tirumuttam*'. Architecturally the most important maṇḍapa in the whole temple is the sculptured one situated in this courtyard, containing full-size representations of the various incarnations of Viṣṇu.

From the style and technique of the sculptures, they may be attributed to the Nāyaka period. The Padineṭṭu-paḍigōpura, the Hanumāṉ-maṇḍapa on the way to the top of the neighbouring hill, the Tiruvēṅgaḍam-Uḍaiyāṉ shrine at Appaṉ Tiruppati and the perennial spring on the hill surrounded by maṇḍapas are also referred to in inscriptions of the place. Aḻagiyamaṇavāḷaṉ-tirumaṇḍapa mentioned in inscriptions is not easily identified.

### *Maṭhas* attached to the Temple

Besides maṇḍapas, several *maṭhas* were also attached to the temple. The *maṭhas* were mainly feeding institutions and four of them are noticed at Aḻagarkōyil :

1. Kulaśēkharan-maṭha—constructed by Śīrāmaṉ Uyyavandāṉ *alias* Muṉaiyadarayar of Kappalūr,
2. Tirunāḍuḍaiyan-maṭha—founded by Araiyaṉ Tirunāḍuḍaiyāṉ Nīlagaṅgaṉ of Kīḻai-Koḍumaḷūr *alias* Madurōdaiyanallūr,
3. Amaiṭṭanārāyaṇaṉ-maṭha, and
4. Vāṇadarāyaṉ-maṭha.

### Villages Granted

For the maintenance of the temple, the most essential thing is property, preferably immovable property which will ensure a steady and permanent income. From inscriptions, we find the following villages were granted to the Aḻagar temple :

1. Samayanallūr and Sāttamaṅgalam on the Vaigai. These may be identified with the villages of the same name in the Madura taluk,
2. Gauṇḍaṇpaṭṭi *alias* Rāmāṉujanallūr (Tirumangalam taluk),
3. Śaḍakkuḍi (probably Śakkuḍi, Madura taluk),
4. Tirukkōṭṭiyur (Tiruppattur taluk),
5. Śiṟudāvūr (probably Śiṟudūr, Madura taluk),
6. Kuñjaraṅkuḍi (probably Kuñjirāṉvayal, Tiruvadanai taluk),
7. Kīḻaipparuttiyūr (Tiruvadanai taluk),
8. Viḷattūr (Madura taluk),

9. Kudikkāḍu (Tiruppattur taluk),
10. Mōśukuḍi (Śivaganga taluk),
11. Perumāḷnallūr (probably Perumāḷ Ēndal, Madura),
12. Aḍañji,
13. Peruṅkaraṇai,
14. Chēranārāyaṇapuram,
15. Tirumalai-uḍaiyāṉ-Viḷāgam,
16. Marūdur, and
17. Iṟāppaikkuḷam and Vaḍamuṟi.

### Lands Granted to the Temple

The temple possessed lands in the following places :

1. Nālukōṭṭai-śirmai,
2. Kārichchēri, hamlet of Vaigarai-śirmai,
3. Iḍakkāṭṭur *alias* Aḻagiyapāṇḍya-nallūr,
4. Rājarājanallūr, also called Sundarattōḷ-Viḷāgam.
5. Mēl-Iraṇiyamuṭṭam,
6. Rājaśūḷāmaṇi-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,
7. Śōḻakulāntaka-chaturvēdimaṅgalam,
8. Pādirikkuḍi,
9. Dēvimaṅgalam and Vālavāy,
10. Kāriyēri,
11. Ulaguḍaipirāṭṭi-Chaturvēdimaṅgalam,
12. Tēnūr, Nariñji, Vaṇḍiyūr, Śilaimāṉ and
13. Under Aḻagiyapāṇḍyaṉ-kuḷam.

### Objects of Endowment to the Temple

The lands and villages were given for :

1. Conducting special services which were instituted in the temple after the name of the donor. These services are called *Sandis* and the following persons instituted such special worships :—
   (*a*) Sundara-Pāṇḍya,
   (*b*) Hoysala Vīra Sōmēśvara,
   (*c*) Kulaśēkhara,
   (*d*) Akaḷaṅka-Nāḍāḻvār,
   (*e*) Kurukulattaraiyaṉ and
   (*f*) Arasamīkāmaṉ
2. Rearing a flower-garden,

3. Providing offerings and worship,
4. Feeding tridaṇḍi Sanyāsins and *Ēkāṅgi* Śrī-Vaiṣṇavas,
5. Cutting a channel for growing red lilies,
6. Supply of sacred thread to god,
7. Chanting the sacred hymns (*Iyal*) during festival days,
8. Burning perpetual lamps in the temple,
9. Sacred bath to the god,
10. Providing unguents like civet, etc., and
11. Conducting festivals.

## Festivals

It will be interesting to note what festivals were conducted in the temple in mediæval days. The festivals in the temple were conducted mainly in the months of Āḍi, Aṟppaśi and Mārgaḻi. For Āṉi-Aṉiḻam, the god halted at Adiyamaḻagiyāṉ-maṇḍapa. The Āḍi festival lasted for ten days. The car festival was on the ninth day in the month of Āḍi. The car itself was called Amaittanārāyaṇaṉ-tēr, probably after the name of the donor. The queen of Jaṭāvarman Kulaśēkhara made provision for providing offerings on the day of *Uttiram* every month. On the day of Viśākha in the month of Āṉi, special offerings and worship were offered. Sokkāṇḍār, the brother of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara-Pāṇḍya II instituted a service on the day of his natal star 'Śadaiyam' in the month of Māna, *i.e.*, February–March. There was special worship every month on the day of Uttirāḍam, the asterism of Aṇṇāḻvi. The image of the deity was bathed daily. It was taken to the spring on the hill (*talai-aruvi*) in the month of Aṟppaśi. The god halted four times a month in the four-pillared maṇḍapa in the 'Etirājaṉ tirumuttam,' *i.e.*, two ēkādaśi days, one amāvasya day and the first day of every month (māsa-piṟappu). The image of Aḻagar was taken to the shrine of Tiruvēṅkaḍam-Uḍaiyāṉ at Appaṉ Tiruppati.

## Some Special Offerings to the God

During most of these festivals there were special offerings to the god. On the day of car festival in the month of Āḍi, there were eighteen *taḷigai* (of rice) at the rate of one *padakku* of rice

for each *taḷigai*, five *kari-amudi*, five *tirup-paṇiyāram*, *tirukkuḻarpaṇi*, etc. On the day of Hanumānkōil-*maṇḍapappaḍi*, when the god was taken to *talai-aruvi*, there were, among others, the following offerings: *adirasam* fifty, *vaḍai* fifty, *śukiyaṉ* fifty, *poriamudu* six *marakkāl*, *poṅgal-tаṭṭu taḷigai* two, *dadhyōdana taḷigai* two. For each of the four halts in a month in the four-pillared maṇḍapa, the offerings were *paṇiyāram* twelve, *vaḍai-paruppupaḍi* two. Varanāśi Varadappa Aṇṇaraiyaṉ, the officer under the Vijayanagara ruler Achyutarāya, provided for fifteen *taḷigai* in the temple, each *taḷigai* containing one *padakku* of rice. There were special offerings during the early morning service in the asterism *Uttiram* every month. For *maṇḍapappaḍi* in the month of Vaigāśi in the four-pillared maṇḍapa, the offerings were *adirasam* 200, *vaḍai* 200, *śukiyaṉ* 200, *pori-amudu* two *kalam*, etc. During the *maṇḍapappaḍi* of the god before the *sannidhi* of Vēdāntācārya, *puḷi-ogarai*, *dadhi-ōdaṉam*, *pori-amudu* and *paṇiyāram* were offered.

Chief among the royal personages who made endowments to the temple may be mentioned Dharaṇimuḻudum-Uḍaiyāḷ, the queen of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara. This lady presented a plot of land for rearing a flower-garden. Tiruvuḍaiyāḷ, a lady of the household of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara-Pāṇḍya, made a gift of land for burning eight perpetual lamps in the temple. Varadarāja-Ammaṉ, the queen of Achyutarāya, made also some endowment to the temple. Aḻagapperumāḷ, evidently the brother-in-law of Jaṭāvarmaṉ Kulaśēkhara, remitted certain taxes in favour of the temple.

### Some of the Persons who made Endowments to the Temple

Of the officers, Mahāpradāna Rāhuttarāya Mācappa-Daṇṇāyaka *alias* Piṉśeṉṟa Villidāsar made an endowment to the temple. Viśvanātha-Nāyaka, son of Nāgama-Nāyaka, the *Ūḻiyam* of the Vijayanagara king Achyutarāya, granted the village Aḍañji on the Vaigai to the temple. Immaḍi Vīraya Daṇḍeśvara gifted the villages Samayanallūr and Sāttamaṅgalam on the Vaigai for offerings to the god during the car procession in Śaka 1435, in the reign of Kṛṣṇadēvarāya. Śōṟaṉ Uyyaniṉṟāḍuvāṉ *alias* Kurukulattarayaṉ made provision for the

conduct of a *sandi* in the temple in his name. This person was the minister of Māṟavarmaṉ Sundara-Pāṇḍya (acc. 1216) and was largely responsible for the construction of the Perumāḷ and Śiva temples at Tiruttaṅgal in the Ramnad District. When he visited the latter temples, he also enjoyed the honour of a bugle (*kāḷam*) being sounded, proclaiming his visit. Aḻagaṉ *alias* Akaḷaṅka-Nādāḻvaṉ, the *sāmanta* of the Pāṇḍya king, instituted a service in his name in the temple. Endowments for rearing a flower-garden to provide flowers to the god were made by (1) Śāttaṉ Āḷavandāṉ *alias* Akaḷaṅkarāyaṉ, a native of Conjeeveram, (2) Āralaṉ Tirunāḍuḍaiyāṉ *alias* Nīlagaṅga-rayar, and (3) Kulaśēkhara Perumāḷ Dāsar.

### Rights and Privileges in the Temple

One of the main drawbacks of modern temples is that their affairs are not infrequently taken before a court of law. A similar situation arose with regard to the Aḻagar temple in the seventh century, but the question was, however, settled by arbitration at the eighteen-*paḍi* gōpura, where everybody was expected to speak only the truth. The occasion for the dispute arose between Tirumalaiyāṇḍa Ayyaṅgār and Bhaṭṭar Ayyaṅgār contesting the right of getting the *tīrtha* in the temple on festival occasions in the month of Āḍi. The question was referred to Vaidyappa-Dīkṣita, Kuppaiyāṇḍi-Seṭṭi, Vasantarāya-Piḷḷai and Tiruvengaṭayyaṉ for decision. These referees summoned the *talattār* and the temple accountants to the eighteen-*paḍi* gōpura and sprinkling *tuḷaśi* and *tīrtha* on their heads, asked them to give their evidence. The latter deposed that Bhaṭṭar Ayyaṅgār enjoyed the right for three days from the seventh day to the ninth day. According to this evidence, Bhaṭṭar Ayyaṅgār had been enjoying the privilege from the cyclic year Yuva (1635–36 A.D.). But in 1651 A.D. Khara, the question was again raked up, the opponent denying any right to BhaṭṭarAyyaṅgār. Thereupon the latter, to prove his right, challenged the opponent Tirumalaiyāṇḍār and promised to abide by his deposition made at the eighteen-*paḍi* gōpura with the god's *śaṭhagōpa* on the head. When this was actually put to the test, Tirumalaiyāṇḍār

had to accept the privilege of his opponent for three days from the seventh to ninth day in the month of Āḍi and the question was decided accordingly.

The temple rights and privileges were shared between the Sāmāṉṉiyar and the Sōḻiyar from the time of Mahābalivāṇāḍarāyar. Occasion arose latterly to review this arrangement in the time of Tirumaladēva-Mahārāja, but it was decided to continue the old arrangement followed from the time of Vāṇādarāya.

A dispute regarding the right of watching the temple between the two brothers Alaṅkāraputtiraṉ and Vaḷañjiyaputtiraṉ and the final settlement of the case in a meeting of the elders is noticed in a copper-plate record dated in Śaka 1529, *i.e.*, A.D. 1607, which is published *in extenso* by Burgess and Natesa Sastri (*Tamil and Sanscript Inscriptions*, p. 112 ff.).

### General

The temple was under the management of the *Kōvaṇavar* and one Śempōruḍaiyāṉ Teṉṉavadarayaṉ in the time of Vikrama-Pāṇḍya, and latterly, under Raṅganārāyaṇa-dāsar. The term *Kōvaṇavar* probably represents ascetics or *sanyasins* who had only the minimum clothing to cover their nakedness. The managers of the temple seem to have changed according to local conditions.

### Ivory Bedstead

In the god's retiring chamber there is an antique bedstead made of ivory measuring 12 feet by 10 feet on plan and about 15 feet in height. It has a pedestal of sculptured black stone, inlaid with small detached shafts and *mithuna* figures in ivory. The canopy is a coloured wooden frame-work, also elaborately inlaid with ivory sculpture. This interesting bedstead is said to have been the gift of Tirumalai-Nāyaka, whose statue stands at the entrance to this chamber.

### Karuppaṇṇasvāmi at the Eighteen-Paḍi Gōpura

When the worship of Karuppaṇṇasvāmi, the popular deity of the Kaḷḷars, was introduced within the precincts of the temple

is not known. Animal sacrifices which are unknown in Brahminical temples are offered to this deity in the outer compound of the temple. This deity is responsible for the vast collection of swords, bill-hooks, clubs, tridents, etc., stored in the temple. It may be remarked here that among the temple jewels is the one presented by Rous Peter, a former Collector of the district.

### Territorial Division

In the eleventh century, Tirumāliruñjōlai was included in Kīḻ-Iraṇiyamuṭṭam which was situated in Rājēndraśōḷa-vaḷa-nādu in Rājarāja-Pāṇḍinādu. When the Cōḷa kings conquered the Pāṇḍya country, designations of territorial divisions in this region were changed and called after the names of the conquerors. It may be remarked in passing that Iraṇiyamuṭṭam was the native district of the Tamil poet Peruṅkauśiganār.

### Linear Measurements and Coins Used in the Temple

The lineal measurements used in connection with the temple transactions were *Māvalivāṇadarāyaṉ-Mātrāṅgulam*, *Paṉṉiraḍi-kōl*, and the *Vīra-Pāṇḍyaṉ-Kōl*. The coins *Āṉai-achchu*, *Paḻaṅ-kāśu* and *poṉ* were current in this region.

Appaṉ Tiruppati, a village close to Aḻagarkōyil, is called the southern house of the god Aḻagar (*Aḻagar terku-vīḍu*). The deity of Aḻagar is taken to this village during festival days.

The history of Aḻagar temple shows that in migrating from one portion of the country to another the people carried their special cult also to the new land. Śevilippēri in the Tinnevelly District is called Teṉ-Tirmāliruñjōlai and the god there is also called Aḻagar. At Kallūr in the Kumbakonam taluk of the Tanjore District is a temple dedicated to eighteen-*paḍi* Karup-paṉṉasvāmi, evidently named after the deity near the first *gōpura* as Aḻagarkōyil. This temple exclusively belongs to the Kallars of the village.

Chief among the literary works on the god at Aḻagarkōyil may be mentioned '*Aḻagar Piḷḷaittamiḻ*, *Aḻagar Kalambagam*' by Veppattur Śaṅgattār, '*Aḻagar Antāti*' by Piḷḷaipperumāḷ Ayyaṅgār and '*Aḻagar Kalambagam*' by Vēppattūr Śaṅgattār.

# THE MAKING OF MYSORE

The early history of Mysore which begins in the early centuries of the Christian era and beyond may be said to close with the foundation of the Vijayanagara Empire in A.D. 1336.

The mediæval period which followed it continued till the battle of Talikota in A.D. 1565. The Modern period synchronised with a part of this period and the history of the Mysore Rajas began early in the fourteenth century and Mr. Shama Rao has published two volumes on Modern Mysore.* The first volume is continued up to 1868 and dedicated to Sri Krishnaraja Wodeyar III, whose attachment to his country and whose political foresight led to the preservation of the integrity of the Mysore State and won for him lasting gratitude of posterity. The second volume which commences with 1868 and is brought up-to-date is dedicated to the revered memory of Sri Chamaraja Wodeyar who first made the experiment of constitutional form of government for an Indian state a complete success.

These two volumes are a valuable chronology of the events that took place, more particularly from the middle of the seventeenth century up-to-date and are based upon the unquestioned testimony of the vast volume of historical material available.

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur Mr. M. Shama Rao is a distinguished Kannada scholar, one of the founders of the Kannada movement, a historian of no mean order and a distinguished civil servant of the State. More than a generation and a half ago he wrote a short history on the progress of Mysore under native administration, in English. His Kannada history of Mysore is a simple readable narrative of events with which generations of boys and girls are familiar. Mr. Shama Rao has been in close touch with the administration

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* *Modern Mysore, from the Beginning to the Present Time,* by Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao. (In Two Volumes.) Printed at Higginbothams, Bangalore, 1936.) Price Rs. 10.

of Mysore under Rangacharlu, Seshadri Iyer, Krishnamurthy and Ananda Rao. Later, in the administration of Sir M. Visvesvaraya, he was selected as a most competent educationist for the work of introducing compulsory elementary education in the State, which, as the head of the Education Department, he carried to success. He was closely connected with the establishment of the Mysore University. He was a founder of the Karnataka Sahitya Parishat and he served for long years on the Committee of the Mythic Society of which he became the Chairman more than a dozen years ago and as President he has been the life and soul of the Mythic Society after the sad demise of its founder, Father Tabard.

With the vicissitudes and struggles in Mysore under varying administrations, Mr. Shama Rao has had an intimate contact during these twenty years of his well-earned retirement. He has served in various capacities and on many public bodies including the Legislative Council, University, etc. He has been acknowledged to be the founder of the Co-operative Movement in Mysore and responsible for the stability and progress of that movement in the early years of its existence in the State. The work before us is a labour of love for him and is a homage to the distinguished rulers of Mysore.

As Campbell says " Give me old Mysore, her lovely garden capital, her temples known of fame, her vales and dales and waterfalls and jungles full of game. I am glad to feel the sentiment wherever my steps may roam, and though the world is beautiful there is nothing like home." The reason for this attachment is due to the fine elevation, salubrious climate, quiet and orderly government, attractive and well-behaved people and a proud heritage which the Mysorean has from time immemorial inherited. The borders of Mysore have changed time and again, from the ancient days, from the far off Krishna in the north to Rameswaram in the south with the ocean on either side. Its history is not merely a narrative of its kings nor a chronicle of valiant deeds and battles won. Nature has assisted art. Religion has powerfully influenced the people for a marked toleration to varying faiths and Mysore through

all these periods has had its distinguished contribution to make to the culture of the world.

### Ancient History

The Mahābhārata war marked an epoch bringing about the fusion of different races and the Ramāyāna perhaps recorded the adventures of a once real ruler, the Solar King Rāma. Many legends enshrined in these world epics are connected with the ancient history of Mysore. For Kaivara is Ekachakrapura ; Kunti built the temple in Chikkaballapur ; the Pāndavas set up five Lingas at Belgame and Matsya, the capital of Virata, was in Mysore ; Jatāyu attempted to rescue Sīta, but was mortally wounded on the Jatinga Ramēśvara hill ; Anjaneya passed through the Mysore region followed by Rāma who crossed the Cauvery at Rāmanāthapura and Rāma's triumphant return was made through Avani, Nandi and Mulukunte.

Gautama, Kaṇva, Agastya, Ṛṣyasringa and Mārkaṇda amongst the sages, Hidimba, Baka and Mahiṣa amongst the Asuras found their home in Mysore. Coming to historical times, the Haihayas, a tribe of Scythian origin and others conquered the State. Nandagudi in the Hosakote Taluk is stated to be the capital of Uttungabhuja. The Nandas reigned in Kuntala and from them perhaps descended the Kadambas. The Mauryas established distinguished connections with Mysore, for Chandragupta followed the great Srutakevali Bhadrabahu and spent his last days at Sravaṇabelagoḷa. The Kadambas ruled in the west of Mysore till the middle of the sixth century with Banavasi as their capital. The Gangas ruled over a grater part of Mysore for a time, from the second to the eleventh century with Talkad as their capital. The Rāṣṭrakutas, the Calukyas and Colas held sway in Mysore for a time. In 1004 the importance of their capital Talkad began to wane and the Hoysalas came to power, with their capital at Dorasamudra, modern Halebīd. While Viṣṇuvardhana consolidated the kingdom of Mysore, his grandson Vīra Ballāla II carried the Hoysala banner to the banks of the Krishna in the north and his successors extended the empire to the cape.

Moslem invasions and the rise of the Vijayanagara empire brought about the downfall of the Hoysala dynasty. The Vijayanagara dynasty was a succession, a successful continuation of the Hoysala empire, founded by the genius and inspiration of the great sage Vidyāraṇya, to secure the national liberty of South India, for the beginnings of which we must go back to the early days of Christianity and to-day that empire is continued by the Mysore Rajas who have made it possible for the South Indian Hindus to be the Hindus they are to-day. The history of Mysore therefore during the period under review marks and enshrines the passage from the mediæval to the modern world and Mr. Shama Rao recounts the history of the Making of Mysore in these pages.

### Mysore Rajas

The Rajas of Mysore belong to the Lunar race. Certain Yādava princes from Dwāraka, the capital of the hero Krishna in Kathiawar, either led by fancy or in order to visit their family God Narāyaṇa on the peak of Yadugiri, came to the Karnatic country early in the fourteenth century. Pleased with beauty of the land, they took their abode in Mahiṣāpura and thus became the progenitors of the Mysore Royal Family. According to tradition, the two princes Vijaya and Krishna espousing the cause of a distressed maiden, the daughter of the Wodeyar of Hadana, saved her from a forced marriage with the chief of Karugahalli, who was of inferior caste, by secreting themselves at the wedding banquet and slaying him. The damsel thereupon became the willing bride of Vijaya, the Yadurāya of the inscriptions and of the Santānāmbuja or progeny lotus. This chief, who assumed the Government of Hadana and Karugahalli adopting the title of Wodeyar became the founder of the Mysore dynasty, professing the Jangama or Lingayet creed, is stated to have been born in 1371 and crowned in 1400. The next in succession were Hirebettada Chamaraja (1424–1451), Thimmappa Raja (1451–1459), and Hire Chamaraja (1479–1513). The next in the line, Hire Chamaraja added to his territory in his long reign of about forty years and he was succeeded by Immadi Thimmappa

Raja in 1513. Raja Wodeyar, ninth in the line, acquired the throne of Dharmaraja and was crowned at Seringapatam in 1610. He overcame the Vijayanagara Viceroy Thirumalaraya and seated himself on the jewel throne. Thence dates the independence of the Mysore Rajas though they continued to acknowledge the Vijayanagara supremacy even so late as 1668. Under Raja Wodeyar, Karugahalli, Bannur, Sosale, Sargoor, Ramasandra, Haradanahalli, Kikkeri and Hosakote were added to Mysore with Seringapatam as capital. Channapatna and its possessions were added to Mysore under Chamaraja VI (1617–1637). Kanteerava Narasaraja I (1638–1659) successfully repelled the Bijapur invasions extending his kingdoms on all sides and strengthened the fortifications at Seringapatam and established a mint. Kaveripuram, Turuvekere, Periyāpatna, Bettadapura, Rudrapatna, Kadaba, Basavāpatna and Yelahanka amongst others were added to the Mysore territories. Chikka Devaraya who ascended the throne in 1672 conquered Bangalore, Tumkur, Hoskote, Salem and its outlying parts, Hassan, Banavar and Chikmagalur to his dominions. He introduced many important changes in the administration of his territories and at his death in 1704, he had built a secure and prosperous kingdom, stretching from Palni and Aṇṇamalai in the south, from Karnatic-ghar in the Bāramahāls in the east to the borders of Coorg and Balam in the west. He was recognised as a sovereign ruler, independent of all but the Mughal. He was the first ruler who established an Attāra Kachery in his dominions. He had an advisory council with five ministers whom he consulted on important subjects. He was a noted constitution-builder and a patron of learning and literature and by his reforms he tried to secure the peace of the country. He was the first ruler to introduce a postal system in the dominions, for despatching letters and for getting news-letters concerning secret and general information. His son Kanteerava Narasaraja II was born deaf and dumb and was called *Mūkarasu*. He succeeded to the throne through the influence of the minister Tirumalaraya and his

successor was Dodda Krishnaraja (1713-1731). Invasions of the Muhammadans and the Mahrattas which were very frequent in his reign had to be bought off at considerable depletion of the treasury. The King was immersed in his own pleasures and all power began to fall into the hands of his ministers. With him the direct line of descent terminated. Sufficient has been said to show that the eighteenth century was a century of trouble and turmoil in India as elsewhere. In the time of Dodda Krishnaraja an attack was made upon the Palēgar of Māgadi and Savaṇadurga was annexed to Mysore. The influential ministers of this period, Devaraja and Nanjaraja, selected Chamaraja from the Hemmanahalli family as ruler and he was known as *Hadinenṭutingaḷa Chamaraja*. His unwise actions brought about his own downfall. He was deposed and sent to Kabbaldroog by Dalavai Devaraja and minister Nanjaraja in 1734. In his place they selected Immadi or Chikka Krishna Raja of Kenchangode, belonging to a younger and distant branch of the family ; he was put on the throne nominally and he died in 1766, without having exercised any semblance of authority.

### Interregnum : Rise of Haidar

Devaraja and Nanjaraja, the two ministers, became very powerful during the minority of Immadi Krishnaraja. On the death of Nanjaraja, the younger brother of Devaraja, called Karāchuri-Nanjaraja was appointed to succeed him and the behaviour of this Nanjaraja made a shameless job of the revenue, detrimental to the interests of the State. However, in 1749, the Mysore army invaded Devanahalli and after a siege of eight months took possession of it. The weaknesses of the Raja and the differences between the brothers contributed for the rise of Haidar who distinguished himself on this occasion. First a soldier under Nanjaraja II, the commander of the army, Haidar, in a very short space of time gathered into his hands enormous power and influence in the kingdom. On the death of Krishnaraja, Haidar invested his eldest son with all the dignity of a Sovereign Prince. Learning soon after

that the young prince had evinced some of the yearnings for liberty natural to man and was not sufficiently subservient, he refused to pay his allowance and reduced the house. He was ultimately thrown out of the palace in 1770 on the alleged discovery that he was opening negotiations with the Mahrattas. His brother Chamaraja VIII was the next nominal king and he died childless in 1775. Thereupon Chamaraja IX, a member of the Karugahalli family, was selected as ruler in a dramatic manner as an adopted son of the previous sovereign. Haidar then took advantage of the differences between brothers Devaraja and Nanjaraja and undertook foreign invasions to recoup himself and for replenishing the treasury of the State. An account of the campaigns of Haidar is given with a minuteness of description and a wealth of detail which are marvellous. During the period of Haidar's ascendancy in Mysore, additions were made of the following territories to Mysore: Sira, Doddaballapur, Chikkaballapur, Bidnur (Keladi Kingdom), Chitaldurg, Raidurg, Harapanahalli, Calicut, etc. Haidar established a mint and struck coins in his own name after the capture of Bidnur and extended the Mysore territory beyond the Tungabhadra river. In 1766 he captured Calicut and later on Gurumkonda, Channarayadurg, Sira, Hosakote, Doddaballapur and Kolar but these were lost to Mysore under the treaty of peace dated 17th June 1772. In 1773–74 Coorg was conquered taking advantage of a disputed succession to the throne and in a very short space of time every place in possession of the Mahrattas was won back. In 1775 Bellary, in 1778 Koppal, Rajendraghar and Dharwar, in 1779 Chitaldurg and Kadapa were taken. When Kadapa became a part of the Mysore territory Haidar took to his harem the Nawab's sister who was reputed to be of ravishing beauty by the Nikka ceremony as otherwise she threatened to commit suicide. The differences which led to war between Haidar and the British which ultimately ended in the demise of Tippu Sultan have been stated differently by different historians. Mr. Shama Rao, in Chapter XIII, has stated the reasons which led to the treaty of 1769 which terminated the First Mysore War. It is said that the Madras

Government failed to help Haidar against the Mahratta invasion under Madhava Rao in 1773. Haidar had therefore, however unwillingly to make overtures to the French who had espoused the cause of the American Colonies in their revolt against England. The English captured Mahi in spite of Haidar's protests but the English sent a missionary named Schwartz to console Haidar. He was a man of considerable influence, and well acquainted with some of the languages of the country. These negotiations ultimately failed and it is needless to recapitulate the subsequent events that led to the fall of Seringapatam in 1799.

Haidar, one of the ablest, enterprising and successful administrators of India died, on the 7th December 1782. His economic rule repaired damages of the country without losing an instant. He had prohibited sacrifices of lambs, animals, etc., to Chamundi. The administration was conducted with regularity and despatch. There was no difference between individuals and he applied the same act to the rich and the poor alike. Regarding religious forms, he was perfectly indifferent having none himself. He raised a battalion of orphans, provided for their growth and arranged for their education. The description of Haidar given by the famous orator, Edmund Burke, is interesting.

"Having terminated his disputes with every enemy and rival who buried their mutual animosities in their common detestation, he drew from every quarter whatever savage ferocity could add to his new rudiments in the art of destruction; and compounding all the materials of fury, havoc and desolation into the black cloud, he hung for a while on the declivities of the mountains. Whilst the authors of all these evils were idly and stupidly gazing, this menacing cloud suddenly burst and poured down the whole of its contents upon the plains of the Karnatic." In the *Annual Report of the Archæological Department for the year* 1930 Dr. Krishna, referring to *Hydarnama*, says that Haidar's defects seem to be forcible capture of beautiful women, treachery, breaking of promises and teasing men without inquiry. How far this accords with

the facts, it is difficult to say but the extent of his kingdom, the conditions of trade and commerce in his country, his keen eye for administrative details, his manifold building activities and his wars ill-accord with such a character. Haidar was a ruler of whom the European powers were much afraid and they were anxious to see that Haidar did not interfere with the affairs of the Karnatic. References in *British Diplomatic Instructions* show how much the British dreaded Haidar's overtures to the French, how they were anxious to prohibit intrigue between them. The account of Mr. Shama Rao shows that Haidar Ali was a most capable administrator and that even during the height of his power he acknowledged the sovereignty of the Hindu Raja. Sublime in his views, capable of seeing them minutely executed in war as in peace, he was always on the alert to discover intrigues and he knew how to take advantage of others' weaknesses and hostile designs. At his death, the Mysore Kingdom comprised about 80,000 square miles including not only Mysore, Hassan, Tumkur, Kadur and Bangalore districts, but extending to the banks of the Krishna, yielding an income three times the revenue it yielded when Haidar started service.

### Tippu Sultan

Haidar was succeeded by Tippu Sultan and Chamaraja the titular sovereign died in 1796. No successor was then appointed, both nominal and real supremacy being assumed by Tippu himself. Here it must be remembered that even during the life-time of Haidar attempts were made for the restoration of power to the old Hindu Royal Family and the British Government, with a view to press upon Haidar to relax his hold on the Karnatic, was giving encouragement to the adherents of the Mysore Royal Family. It may also be said that the old rulers and other adherents were not tamely acquiescing in their supression. Maharani Lakshmi Ammanni, the widow of Immadi Krishnaraja, was a daughter of Katte Gopal Raj Urs, a lady of remarkable intelligence and courage. It was with her that the ultimate terms were settled by the British on the fall of Seringapatam in connection with the

restoration of the Hindu Raja as early as 1766. She had inspired Tirumala Rao who carried on negotiations with Piggot, Governor of Madras, and even before the death of Haidar a treaty had been concluded on the 28th October 1782 between Lakshmi Ammanni and the Company's Government. As a result of this, in the next year, the Mysore Hindu Colours had been hoisted on the ramparts of Caroor in the Coimbatore district. Among Tippu's administrative changes it may be mentioned that he discarded corporal punishment to officials and prescribed an oath to be taken annually. He instructed accounts to be maintained in Persian. He required all important officers to reside in the city of Seringapatam. He insisted on officers in the State to study the Code of Regulations and to refer to it for guidance in all cases of doubt and difficulty. Tippu had collected a large number of books and possessed a very valuable library which subsequently formed the nucleus for a library of eastern literature, containing books on the *Koran*, Prayers, Tradition, Theology, Jurisprudence, Arts and Sciences, Philosophy, Poetry, etc.

The retirement of Lord Cornwallis and the succession of Mornington brought about a change in the British policy in India towards the native rulers and their quarrels and in November 1798 the letter addressed by the Governor-General to Tippu brought forth a rejoinder by Tippu. The correspondence however does not show any acts of hostility on Tippu's part unless it be that his correspondence with the Sultan of Turkey or with the French should be deemed sufficient to march against him; and even before the reply of Tippu had reached, the stage had been set and British troops had started on their march on Mysore on the 11th February 1799. The reply of Tippu had no effect. A brother of the Governor-General, Colonel Arthur Wellesley came with a political and diplomatic commission with certain papers of a peculiar nature relating to the old Hindu Royal Family of Mysore. The feelings of the people, the view of the leading men, the requirements of discretion, and above all the assistance forthcoming for the Rajas of Mysore and Lakshmi Ammanni

were almost successfully studied. With Tippu's death, the interregnum which began with Haidar ended after taking the Mysore kingdom to its zenith and after bringing it to the verge of extinction. Tippu was a constant object of fear to the English as well as to the French. Tippu was an ambitious sovereign and was known as the Tiger of Mysore. Twelve years after his father's death, a person travelling through the country of Mysore in the time of Tippu found it well-cultivated, populous with industrious inhabitants, commerce extending, indicating happiness. All these meant that the form of Government was congenial to the minds of the people. Though it is more than a century and a quarter since the rule of Tippu, the people of Mysore have continued to cherish fond regard for the many qualities of Tippu's character and his great work in trying to increase and consolidate the kingdom of Mysore which he inherited from his father. Apologists for Tippu are in numbers increasing and the general condition of the country as he left it at his death shows that the people were contented with his administration on the whole.

## Restoration

On the capture of Seringapatam by the British in 1799 and the death of Tippu at the same time the British restored the ancient Hindu Royal Family within the present limits of Mysore, and installed Krishnaraja on the 30th June 1799. Regarding the division of the Mysore territories the decision was guided by the considerations of expediency as well as justice. During the minority of Krishnaraja, Purnaiya was appointed Dewan and on becoming a major Krishnaraja Wodeyar assumed the reins of office in 1811, during which time Purnaiya maintained harmonious relations with the Resident and managed tactfully all departments of administration.

## Economic Conditions

Vaccination was introduced in 1806 in Mysore. Krishnaraja was by nature a man of robust commonsense and goodness of heart but lack of experience and worldly knowledge left

him in the hands of unscrupulous people who called themselves his advisers. Lakshmi Ammanni had died and was followed by Purnaiya. Royal advisers did not possess that moral courage of expressing fearlessly their views while the Residents perhaps might have felt it difficult to exercise more than a normal influence under the circumstances of the day. The Pindari War and the Mahratta War were constant sources of trouble in the territories adjoining Mysore. Peace had its difficulties as much as war. The large number of troops which had returned from foreign campaigns and those war-weary soldiers who had settled down for a peaceful life had to be provided for with land. These and other economic factors continued to cause embarrassment. Large armies which Haidar and Tippu had maintained in their day were another source of trouble and the increase of expenditure for carrying on peaceful works was another source of anxiety to the State. The removal of British garrisons and British troops from several parts of the State not merely removed the sense of security felt by the people who feared plunder and rapine but brought about a decline in the demands for produce and in the expenditure of money. The increase of extensive cultivation and the fall of prices with a necessity to pay the annual subsidy in monthly instalments were other factors. People brought up in military traditions and in bureaucratic methods are somewhat unable to diagnose the economic causes for the fall of revenue. In an agricultural country where financial adjustments have to be made with varying conditions, it is not easy to manage an increase by a system of contracts. Further, to these were added the influence of individuals in bringing about the appointments of their relatives to certain places in their control. It is alleged that some of the influential officers of the court of that time were in league with the rebel leaders. This state of things became vastly prevalent in Nagar, partly owing to the basis of the "sharat" system. There appeared two leaders who not only stimulated the malcontents but induced others to join them. Haick Mul claiming to be the adopted son of the Raja of Nagar and Rangappa, the head

of the Turuvekere Palegar's family, were two leading insurgents. People joined them from fear and from a desire to enrich themselves from plunder and other means.

Caste superstitions were appealed to, the curses of heaven were threatened and the approach of the collection season tended to increase the disturbance. When the ryots approached the authorities for a proper investigation to be made of their grievances claiming unauthorised levies to be refunded, the authorities on the spot put off salutary measures with the result that the rebellion spread like wild fire. As an attempt to put down the malcontents, various excessive measures were resorted to in several places. When reports of these excesses reached the headquarters, it was considered expedient and on the advice of the Resident, the Maharaja undertook a personal tour preceded by the Resident himself. It is alleged that one Chowdiah who accompanied the Resident was to a certain extent responsible for some of the evil effects of the time. The request of the Raja for a company of subsidiary forces was found unacceptable both to the Resident as well as to the Government of Madras, and the Raja was more or less required to depend upon his own resources. Nevertheless, the Raja wherever he went tried to appease the people, removed officials guilty of oppression and assured the ryots of a comprehensive enquiry into their grievances. It is apparent that His Highness was unable to make much headway in his pacific efforts for both Chowdiah and Venkataraja Urs represented that it was the Resident's opinion that without some drastic measures such as hanging, whipping, fining and confinement, the insurrection might spread even to the Company's territories and decisive action should immediately be taken. It was also alleged that the tender-hearted Maharaja might in view of the seriousness of the situation entrust the whole affair to the Dewan in order to secure permanent peace. When these representations were confirmed by the Resident, a durbar was held at which Chowdiah and Belavadi Subba Rao gave a list of persons to be executed on that occasion: no entreaty that the ryots were the children of the *Sirkar*, and

that it was cruel to execute them and that a lesser punishment should suffice was availing. Naturally the insurrection spread all over and the malcontents increased. It does not appear that Venkataraja Urs was tactful in his management. Realising the seriousness of the situation in the Nagar country, the then Resident Casamaijor sent a certain Captain Rochefort to Tarikere and Lieutenant Colonel Wolfe was also despatched for decisive action in support of the legitimate administration. It is most unfortunate that the conduct of Captain Rochefort should have been one which even to-day makes very sorry reading. The restrained account given in the work before us is sufficient to indicate that persons were unjustly executed on many an occasion. As Mr. Shama Rao says at page 435 "The carelessness with which these executions were carried out may be understood when it is stated that on the first day when one of the officers who was passing by at the time wished to witness how the persons were hanged and how they died, though the gruesome work had closed for the day, two more men were immediately brought out and hanged in his presence and the sole ground assigned in justification of these horrid acts was that none of those executed were inhabitants of the Mysore State but that they belonged to the Company's territories." It is gratifying to observe that when the official report of these executions reached His Highness, he was terrified at what had taken place and at once sent orders to all the officers concerned not to inflict any future capital punishment without his express sanction. In several places it was found that persons executed were hanging on the trees and others were lying across the roadside with their throats cut. The Resident himself felt that the several measures adopted had not produced the anticipated results but had inflamed the minds of the people. After certain remedial measures were taken against the root-cause of the evil which led to the insurrection, the situation became more handy and manageable.

### Commission

In connection with the deposition of the Maharaja consequent upon these events, the author has dealt with in detail,

and the reasons and explanations given in the book show that Lord William Bentinck had himself realised the drastic nature of the measures taken by the Government, and that the Report of the Committee of Enquiry appointed regarding the Nagar rebellion had doubted the legality and justice of depriving His Highness of the administration of the country. Later on, Bentinck had not merely reported in his despatches that the justification for the drastic actions was lacking but had also said that the Raja was in the highest degree intelligent and sensible and that he had little doubt that from the manner in which His Highness had conducted himself in his then adverse circumstances he would not neglect to bring his good qualities into active operation. Nevertheless, it took a long time for the reconsideration by the Court of Directors of their decision. Indeed it was not till and after the transfer of the Government of India to the Crown that the rendition became an accomplished fact. In 1865 Chamaraja Wodeyar was adopted by Krishnaraja and a well administered state during the days of the British Commission by Cubbon, Bowring and others was left as a legacy when Chamaraja Wodeyar became the Maharaja of Mysore on attaining majority. Attempts to apply the Doctrine of Lapse fortunately for us were unsuccessful. It was at one time considered that the treaty entered into by Lakshmi Ammanni on behalf of the Maharaja of Mysore was a personal one and it was inexpedient to continue this territory by an act of gratuitous liberty to any other after the death of Krishnaraja Wodeyar III: more so because that he had no son and that his conduct had shown that his rule which commenced under every advantage had become scandalously and hopelessly bad and that therefore with his death the territory of Mysore should be deemed to have lapsed. We have shown already how Krishnaraja was not responsible for the maladministration of the country and the Doctrine of Lapse had not been operative in the Mysore Case. The argument that an adoption by Krishnaraja would have no concern with the government of the country did not find acceptance with the

British Government and it was considered that the promise of the Viceroy conceding the free right of adoption was one which ought to be kept up. The fight for restoration was an arduous battle and many English and Indian gentlemen deserve all honour and praise for this assistance in bringing back the Mysore dynasty on the *Gadi*. Of those one well-known name, that of Ali Asker, the grandfather of the present Dewan Sir Mirza M. Ismail, might be mentioned. At the time of Krishnaraja's death Chamaraja was a ward as well as a minor and the terms had not been settled upon. Yet the Secretary of State approved the performance of the Installation Ceremony to make known the intentions of the British Raj to the people of Mysore and to infuse public confidence.

### Restoration

Accordingly on the 23rd September 1868 the young Maharaja was installed with every solemnity befitting the occasion. His noble and simple appearance attracted the Prince of Wales at Bombay in 1875 and he was a conspicuous and youthful figure in the Imperial Assemblage at Delhi. Soon after, as a part of his training, he undertook a tour throughout the State in 1880 as the best means of impressing lessons on his mind and getting himself acquainted with the country, he was so soon to rule. After a beneficent reign of over thirteen years during which there was marked progress in every walk of life, he died on 28th December 1894, leaving a prosperous and model State. Dignified and unassuming, his bearings were that of an English gentleman. An accomplished horseman and whip, fond of sport, a liberal patron of the turf and hospitable as a host, while at the same time he was careful in the observance of Hindu customs, he was popular with both Europeans and Indians. He was devoted to the family and of refined tastes. He was diligent and conscientious in attending to business.

### Present Mysore

At the time of Chamaraja's death Krishna Raja Wodeyar was a minor and the State passed through the

Regency of Her Highness Vani Vilas Sannidhana whose recent demise we all so much deplore. During her Regency there was no interruption to the advancement of the State, numerous public works bearing testimony to the benevolent spirit of her administration and the laudable policy of increasing the prosperity of the country. It was marked by an increase in revenue, in the area under cultivation, in the introduction of improved methods of agriculture, the development of the gold mining industry, the substitution of steam by electricity by harnessing the Cauvery falls for generating power, the construction of Vani Vilas Sagara, the introduction of water supply to Bangalore and Mysore, the development of the means of communication and various other measures. His Highness the Maharaja after a course of training which comprised all departments of activity in which he would be called upon to take decisive action was installed on the throne of his ancestors with all the customary ceremonies and became the ruler of a tractable and contented people inheriting traditions firmly established on progressive and constitutional lines. The highly instructive account of the reign of His Highness Sri Krishna Raja Wodeyar IV given by Mr. Shama Rao serves to show how well Mysore and its administration deserve the description of Lord Sankey as one of the most constitutionally governed and progressive states. On the occasion of the celebration of the Silver Jubilee of His Highness's illustrious reign, an account of his twenty-five years' rule has already been prepared and it is gratifying to observe that in spite of a world depression there has been no weakening of any of the nation-building activities in the State, and that His Highness has fulfilled with unceasing effort his main purpose to endeavour to promote the welfare and prosperity of our country.

S. S.

# THE ATHARVA VEDA AND THE MANTRA ŚĀSTRA

BY N. K. VENKATESAN, M.A., L.T.

BETWEEN the Rāmāyaṇa of Vālmīki and the Mahābhārata of Vyāsa, in chronological order, there is a tiny epic known as *Devī Saptaśati* which narrates the events associated with the incarnation of Devī or Śakti as the Goddess Caṇḍī in the triple form of Durgā, Lakṣmī and Sarasvatī. The epic relates that the Goddess destroyed the demons Madhu, Kaiṭabha, Mahiṣā-sura, Dhūmralocana, Caṇḍa, Muṇḍa, Rakta Beeja, Raktākṣa, Śumbha and Niśumbha. The whole epic centres round the misfortunes and the revived fortunes of the Vaiśya King Suratha, even as the other two epics are based on the fortunes of Śrī Rāma and Śrī Kṛṣṇa, the Kṣatriya and the Yādava kings of Ayōdhya and Dvāraka. This epic occurs as part of the Mārkaṇḍeya Purāṇa. In the course of the epic, we are also told that the time to which the epic relates is the age of Svārōciṣa Manu, the age in which King Suratha flourished. We are also told that the next incarnation of Devī for the destruction of the wicked and for the establishment of Dharma would occur in the age of Vaivasvata Manu and that the incarnation would be in the womb of Yasōda (the incarnation of Śrī Kṛṣṇa).

This small epic of the Goddess Caṇḍikā is the central gospel of the followers of what is known as the Mantra Śāstra. When I began the study of the Atharva Veda, I approached several paṇḍits well versed in Vedic literature and ritualism and asked them what they understood about the Atharva Veda and I wrote also to some people in Northern India requesting for information. All in one voice stated that the Atharva Veda meant only the Mantra Śāstra. On actually examining the Atharva Veda, however, I found that the Atharva Veda was as good a Veda as the Yajur Veda or the Ṛgveda, in language and import and that there was very

little in common between the Mantra Śāstra and the Atharva Veda. Yet I thought the popular notion of the eminent paṇḍits must be based on some right conception. On closer examination I find that the Mantra Śāstra is an outgrowth of the Atharva Veda in the age between the age of the Rāmāyaṇa and the age of the Mahābhārata under very strange circumstances.

To judge these circumstances, we have to examine some of the Upaniṣads. The Upaniṣads represent a peculiar and interesting stage in the growth of thought in India. The original Veda contains three phases—upāsana (ritual), speculation on the supreme Brahma (in the Āraṇyaka) and concentration on particular deities and their glories and powers. These three were developed later into three distinct forms of literature in the Upaniṣads. Those that speak on the comparative values of Karma and Jñana mārga, those that speak of the glory and greatness of Parabrahma and Ātma-jñana, and those that develop the mystic upāsana based on all those bījākṣaras in the Mantra Śāstra. Among the 108 Upaniṣads or esoteric manuals explanatory of the four Vedas or metaphysical manuals dealing with esoteric Hinduism and Vedântic interpretation of Vedic religion (the names of the 108 Upaniṣads are recounted in the Muktikōpaniṣad said to have been revealed by Rāma to Ānjaneya), we find that 10 belong to the Ṛgveda, 19 to the Śukla Yajur Veda, 32 to the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda, 16 to the Sāma Veda and 31 to the Atharva Veda. It must be mentioned here that the Eānti-pāṭha or the verse with which the study of the Upaniṣads is begun and ended has a significant fact to reveal to us. All the 31 Atharva Veda Upaniṣads have for their Eānti-pāṭha—the verse—which is the Eānti-pāṭha for Aruṇa-praśna (Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Praśna I) "भद्रंकर्णेभि:". The Aruṇa-praśna seems to be closely related to the Kāthaka-praśna, the last praśna of the Taittirīya Brāhmaṇa. It is a curious coincidence that the Savitrī-mantra in the Kāthaka-praśna and the reference in it to Naciketa (also seen in the Katha Upaniṣad). [*N.B.*—The praśna in the Veda is called the *Kāthaka* and the Upaniṣad

is known as *Katha* Upaniṣad], are seen in the Aruṇa-praśna; and the Sūrya Aṣṭākṣari based on the 8 letters dedicated to Sūrya are found both in the Kāthaka-praśna, the Aruṇa-praśna and the Sūryopaniṣad of the Atharva Veda. Thus, the idea of letters or बीजाक्षर as the basis of the upāsana must have had its origin in the order shown in these three treatises—the Kāthaka-praśna, the Aruṇa-praśna of the Taittirīya Āraṇyaka, and the Suryōpaniṣad of the Atharva Veda. I am inclined to think that in the post-Vedic or epic age, the philosophic speculations based on the Vedas and expressed in the Upaniṣads reproduced the basic upāsana of the Vedas in new forms and these must have caused the existence of the Katha Upaniṣad of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda, the Sūryopaniṣad of the Atharva Veda, etc., etc.

So in this age, a new turn was given to upāsana, stress being laid on the mystic power of the letter or *akṣara*. This stress on *akṣara* took two forms in thought, *viz.*, (i) greatness of the imperishable Brahma represented by *Aum*, the praṇava, and (ii) the mystic value of the letters of the alphabet on which the whole Mantra Śāstra is based. To elucidate this point, I put forth the following points :—

(1) The three well-known pādas of the *Gāyatrī*, as given in the *Aruṇa-praśna* (Taittirīya Āraṇyaka Praśna I) and also in the *Sūryopaniṣad* of the Atharva Veda have one pāda—the *fourth* (now commonly supposed to represent the Atharva Veda exclusively, by the followers of the Mantra Śāstra), added for the first time in the *Tripurātāpinyopaniṣad* of the Atharva Veda. Reference to the fourth pāda of the *Gāyatrī* appears in the Bṛhad Āraṇyaka of Śukla Yajus. The evolution of the Mantra Śāstra from the Veda appears to be somewhat roughly in this manner :—

| | |
|---|---|
| (i) Kathaka of Yajur Veda | (1) Naciketa story ;<br>(2) Sūrya aṣṭākṣarī. |
| (ii) Aruṇa-praśna of Yajur Veda. | (1) Reference to Naciketa cayana ;<br>(2) Sūrya aṣṭākṣarī ;<br>(3) Gāyatrī—3 pādas. |

| | |
|---|---|
| (iii) Katha Upaniṣad of Yajur Veda. | Naciketa's story. |
| (iv) Sūryopaniṣad of Atharva Veda. | Sūrya aṣṭākṣarī and 3 pādas of Gāyatrī. |
| (v) Tripurātāpani Upaniṣad of Atharva Veda. | 4th pāda added to Gāyatrī. |

The original Atharva Vedic simple ritualism magnified in the Yajur Vedic complicated ritualism produced a turn for intellectual mystic upāsana in the later Yajur Vedic *Kathaka*, *Aruṇa-praśna*, as well as in the Yajur Vedic *Kathaupaniṣad* and this was taken up by the Atharva Vedins and developed into a new cult of mystic upāsana in the *Upaniṣads of the Atharva Veda*.

(2) This is clear when we observe in the *Praśnopaniṣad* of the Atharva Veda (the time of which is put down as after the time of Hiraṇyanābha, the 82nd king of Kośala, Śrī Rāma being the 64th king of the Solar dynasty. The age between Śrī Rāma and the age of the Mahābhārata events represents kings numbering from 65 to 94. So this king is mentioned in the chief Upaniṣad belonging to the age between the Rāmāyaṇa and the Mahābhārata.) Mention is made of 16 *kalās* of Puruṣa which correspond to the 16 *kalās* of Candra or *Soma*, the king of the Gods according to the original Atharva Veda cult. (*Cf.* The Muṇḍakopaniṣad of the Atharva praises the karma yoga of the people of this Tretāyuga and promulgates the jñana mārga and its glory in the later age—Dvāparayuga. This Upaniṣad deals with the comparative value of the Karma and Jñana mārgas and glorifies Jñana. At the end, it says that Brahma-vidyā is to be taught to the votaries of *Atharva Śiras*. So among those there must have been three sets of people, those who followed the Karma mārga, those who evolved the Śrī Cakra and the Mantrās, and those who followed the path of Jñāna or realisation of Brahman.)

(3) In the Bhāvopaniṣad and in the Tripurātāpaniya Upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda, we have a full description of the *Śrī Cakra* or the mystic cakra of the Mantra Śāstra and the whole representation of Devī or Goddess for Upāsana in

the form of the Śrī Cakra. [The Sudarśana Cakra (6 letters), Nārāyaṇa Cakra (8 letters), Vāsudeva Cakra (12 letters), Mātṛka Cakra (16 letters), Nṛsimha Cakra (32 letters) and all related Bījākṣaras are dealt with in the A. V. Nṛsimha tāpani Upaniṣad.]

In this manner, the mantra and the upāsana of the *Śāktas* must have grown from the Atharva Veda, through the Upaniṣads of the Atharva Veda, through the intermediate stage of the later Yajur Vedic Praśnas and the Yajur Vedic Upaniṣads. (*Atharva Veda* Yajur Veda Brāhmaṇa and Samhita > Yajur Veda Kathaka, Āraṇyaka, Upaniṣads > Atharva Veda Upaniṣads—*Mantra Śāstra.*)

(4) Another interesting phenomenon is that in the Praśna-upaniṣad of the Atharva Veda, we are told of the greatness of the mystic symbol, *Aum* (Praṇava). (*Cf.* Māṇḍukyopaniṣad of Atharva Veda also.) It appears to me that to the age when the Mantra Śāstra was developed with the new cult of the Śāktas with their Caṇḍikā pūja and the Devī Saptaśati pārāyaṇa, etc., must be attributed also some of the Upaniṣads which inculcate the mystic upāsana of letters or *bīja-akṣaras* and *cakras* which play such a large part in the spiritual life, for example, to-day in India.

| | |
|---|---|
| (1) Atharva Śikha-upaniṣad | which speaks of the glory of the syllable *Aum.* |
| (2) Devī Upaniṣad (Atharva Veda) | which speaks of the power of Devī. |
| (3) Bhāvanōpaniṣad (A. V.) | which gives the glory of Śrī Cakra as the seat of the Goddess. |
| (4) Brahmavidyōpaniṣad of Yajur Veda | which refers to the great formula of the Śaiva-Śākta school of to-day–*Aum Hamsa.* |

5. In the *Tripurātāpinyopaniṣad* of Atharva Veda, we are told of several such mystic symbols :—

(*a*) The 108 letters made up of
(i) 32 of Gāyatrī with तत्वा the fourth pāda (तत्वा)
(ii) 44 of Devī (जातवेद)
(iii) 32 of Rudra.

(*b*) The 16 letters of Devī.
(*c*) The 5 letters of Śiva.
(*d*) The 12 letters of Vāsudēva.
(*e*) The 3 letters of Praṇava.
(*f*) The mantra of Hamsa.
(*g*) The mantra of Gaṇapati.
(*h*) The three letters of Śakti.

6. The significance of this new mystic cult associated with the Mantra Śāstra, a late outgrowth of the Atharva Veda and the hold it had on the intellect of the epic or the post-epic or the modern age is seen in a very curious Upaniṣad called the *Kali Santāraṇopaniṣad* of the Kṛṣṇa Yajur Veda. In this Upaniṣad, the great sage Nārada is informed by the great Lord Nārāyaṇa that all the evils of the Kaliyuga could be overcome by the constant utterance of the 8 syllables of Rāma and 8 syllables of Kṛṣṇa.

7. The wandering away of women and Śūdras from the ancient Vedic religion is distinctly shown in the statement of (A. V.) Nṛsimhopaniṣad that for the sake of women and Śūdras who *could not* get salvation by means of Praṇava upāsana or the use of Lakṣmī Yajus or Sāvitrī-aṣṭākṣarī, the special Nṛsimha Mantra of 32 letters is promulgated for the salvation of such people in the Kaliyuga.

*Note* :—The Mahā-Nārāyanopaniṣad of Atharva Veda, which evidently belongs to the latest age after the closing of the epic period, comprehensively deals with the whole Mantra Śāstra in all its details. It is significant that in this Upaniṣad, the Sūrya-aṣṭākṣarī, the Sāvitrī and Gāyatrī are given together side by side in the instruction for the filling in of the Nārāyaṇa Cakram.

# THE ORIGINAL NAME OF MAHĀBALIPURAM

By Rao Sahib C. M. Ramachandra Chettiar, B.A., B.L.

In his *Studies in Pallava History* Rev. H. Heras, S.J., in dealing with the chapter on "Pre-Pallava Existence of Mahābali puram" (page 70) says :

"Tirumangai Āḷvar, the famous Vaishnava Devotee of the time of Nandivarman Pallavamalla, refers to Mahābalipuram as Kadal Mallai, Talasayanam, *viz.*, the mountain near the sea otherwise called Talasayanam. This seems to be the real name of the place independently from Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla and this was mostly the name that the sea shore village had prior to the conquest of Kāncipura by the Pallava family." In the subsequent pages of the book also the learned author refers the name of the village as "the old village of Talasayanam" (page 93). Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla beautified the old village by adding temples and a harbour and "all these works fully justify the name of Mamallāpuram or Mahāmallapuram which beyond doubt he himself gave to the newly aggrandised town and which has lately been corrupted into Mahābalipuram" (page 94).

The theory as to the origin of the name of Mamallāpuram as being derived from Narasimhavarman Mahāmalla had been propounded by historians till now. They suggested that it was Narasimhavarman I, who built the town and beautified it, that he was the originator of the place and that hence it was named after him. The eminent scholar Rev. Heras now suggests that the village had Pre-Pallava existence and that Narasimha was not the first person who beautified the place. He proves in his book that Mahendravarman I, his father, was responsible for undertaking the construction of the place and that he had excavated a few cave temples and that Narasimhavarman continued the work and accomplished it. This is acceptable.

But in giving a Pre-Pallava existence for the sea-side village, Rev. Heras finds out a name for it as "Talasayanam" and translates the words used in *Periya Tirumoḻi* of Tirumangai Āḷvar "Kadal Mallai Talasayanam" as "the mountain near the sea otherwise called Talasayanam". There might have been a village during Pre-Pallava days but there is no proof from the lines of *Periya Tirumoḻi* that its name was 'Talasayanam'. Moreover, the Tamil language does not convey in the words "Kadal Mallai Talasayanam" the meaning attributed by the Professor. The correct meaning of the words is "(the temple known as) Talasayanam (in the village) of Mallai (which is situated) on the sea." From this rendering, it will be seen that the name 'Talasayanam' is the name of the temple, that the name of the village is 'Mallai' and that it was situated on the sea-coast. Rev. Heras incorrectly translates 'Mallai' as mountain. The Tamil word for mountain is 'Malai' and not 'Mallai'. The latter can never become 'Malai' in the Tamil language. Moreover, Tamil grammar will not make the words 'Mallai' and 'Talasayanam' in the above said phrase as nouns in apposition. Similar groups of words are found elsewhere in the Tamil language in Śaivite and Vaiṣṇavite literature as well as in the inscriptions. In all such phrases, the words connote the names of the town and of the temple situated in it. A few examples will illustrate the statement :—

| Phrases Used | Name of the Town | Name of the Temple |
|---|---|---|
| ŚAIVITE : | | |
| Puliyur Chitrambalam | Puliyur | Chitrambalam |
| Karuvur Pasupathīsvaram | Karuvur | Pasupthīsvaram |
| Tanjai Raja Rajēsvaram | Tanjai | Rajarajēsvaram |
| Vennai Nallur Arulthurai | Vennai Nallur | Arulthurai |
| Kudanthai Karonam | Kudanthai | Karonam |
| VAIṢṆAVITE : | | |
| Tiruvarangapperiyakoil | Tiruvarangam | Periyakoil |
| Tanjai Mamaṇi Koil | Tanjai | Mamaṇi Koil |
| Thillai Thiruchitrakudam | Thillai | Thiruchitrakudam |
| Kazhi Sirama Viṇṇagaram | Kazhi | Sirama Viṇṇagaram |

| Phrases Used | Name of the Town | Name of the Temple |
|---|---|---|
| Kachi Attigiri | Kachi | Attigiri |
| Nandipura Viṇṇgaram | Nandipuram | Viṇṇagaram |
| Similarly: *Thirukadalmallai Talasayanam* | *Thirukalmallai* | *Talasayanam* |

*Inscriptions* :—

| | | |
|---|---|---|
| Tanjai Rajarajēsvaram | Tanjai | Rajarajēsvaram |
| Kachi Rajasimmēsaram | Kachi | Rajasimmēsaram |
| Similarly : *Mallai Jalasayanam* | *Mallai* | *Jalasayanam* |

These examples will testify that the word Talasayanam is the name of the temple while Mallai is the name of the village wherein it is situated. At Mamallāpuram, there are several temples. In Vaiṣṇavite lore, two of them were very important. In both the temples, Mahā Viṣṇu has the lying posture, the bed being the great Ādi Śēṣa (Śayanam). One temple was on the land and the other on the sea. That on the land was called Talasayanam (Sanskrit: *Stalasayanam*–land bed or bed on land) and that on the sea was called *Jalasayanam*—(sea bed or bed on the sea). Tirumangai Āḷvar who lived at the time of Nandivarman Pallava Malla sang his invocations on the God on the land temple (Talasayanam). Hence, he refers in the two poems about this temple as

"கண்டது நான் கடன்மல்லைத் தலசயனத்தே"—(ii-5 பெரிய திருமொழி —11 stanzas).

"கடன் மல்லைத் தலசயனம்"—(ii-6 பெரிய திருமொழி—11 stanzas).

As opposed to Talasayanam, the shore temple is called Jala sayanam for it was sorrounded by water. The inscriptions in that temple refer to the place as Jalasayanam.

"மாமல்ல புரத்து ஜலசயனதேவர்"—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 40).

"மாமல்ல புரத்து நகரத்துளோமும்—இன்னகரத்து ஜலசயனத்து...பள்ளிகொண்டருளிய தேவரும்"—(*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 41).

These inscriptions are of the Cola Raja Raja I's time. The shore temple (Jalasayanam) was built, according to Rev. Heras, by Narasimha II Rajasimha. Stala Sayana Perumal temple

" which is forbidden to Europeans " has " a style of the Vijayanagaram period " (page 100). Inasmuch as Tirumangai Āḷvar has sung about this temple, it ought to have existed during his days, though the renovations and additions may be of the Vijayanagara period. The very existence of Jalasayanam as opposed to Talasayanam shows that the latter ought to have existed even during the days of Narasimha II. Hence, it is also clear that Talasayanam could never have been the name of the village.

Moreover, whenever Tirumangai Āḷvar refers generally to this town in his songs on other places, he mentions it merely as ' Kadal Mallai ' without ' Talasayanam '

" கடன்மல்லையுட் கிடந்தாய் "—(திருவாலி, iii-5).
" கடன்மல்லைக் கிடந்த கரும்பே "—(திருநறையூர், vii-1).
" கச்சி, பேர் மல்லை "—(திருக்குறுந்தாண்டகம், 19).
" காரார் கடந்தை, கடிகை, கடன்மல்லை "—(சிறியதிருமடல், 73).
" மன்னும் கடன்மல்லை மாயவனை "—(பெரியதிருமடல், 120).

Buthathāḷvar, an earlier devotee, sings in his *Iyarpa* about his own birth place, Mallai, as

" வேலை தமருள்ளும் மாமல்லை "—(இயற்பா, 2-70).

From these quotations, it will be clear that the town was known as Kadai Malai Mallai and even as Mamallai. Hence, the name of the village becomes clear that it was Mamallāpuram and not Talasayanam. If Talasayanam had been the original name, then where was the necessity of an addition ' Kadal Mallai ' to it ?

In support of this there is an inscription in the shore temple of the time of Virarājendra Chola (*S. I. I.*, Vol. I, No. 42) which gives the name of the town as ' Tirukadal Mallai'—திருக்கடன்மல்லை.

It is also interesting to note that Sēkkiḻar, the minister poet of Kulōtthunga II Anapaya, refers to this town as Mamallai, when he mentions it as typical example for a place where hilly region (Kurinji) blends with the coastal region (Neidal) in Tondai Nadu.

The relavant lines are :—

" நீடு நெய்தலும் குறிஞ்சியும் புணர்நிலம் பலவால்
ஆடு நீள் கொடி மாடமா மல்லையே அனைய "
—(பெரிய புராணம்-திருக்குறிப்பு, செ-41).

Curiously, Mr. P. T. Srinivasa Iyengar conjectures that the original name of Mallai was Mavilangai (*History of Tamils*, page 293) and calls it a sea-port. His authorities are two poems in the *Purananuru*. His inference is far-fetched and is not supported by any other authority in the Tamil language.

Hence, it could be concluded that whatever the ancient name of this famous place might have been, if such a name ever existed, it was not *Talasayanam* as suggested by the Professor.

# ON TWO SINHALESE ACCUMULATION DROLLS

By Sarat Chandra Mitra, M.A., B.L.

Accumulation Drolls or Cumulative Folk-tales are stories in which the narrative goes on by means of short and pithy sentences, and, at every step of which, all the previous steps thereof are repeated, till, at last, the whole series of steps thereof are recapitulated. These cumulative folk-tales may be classified under six classes or types, namely,

(1) The Titty Mouse Type ;

(2) The Old Woman and the Pig Type ;

(3) The Henny Penny Type ;

(4) The Man and the Shrimp Type (*vide* my article entitled "On Two New Types of Accumulation Droll" published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. XI, pages 108–22) ; also see my article entitled "On a Thado Kuki, Accumulation Droll of 'The Man and the Shrimp' Type" which has been published in *The Journal of the Anthropological Society of Bombay*, Vol. XV, pages 105–11 ;

(5) The Drop of Honey Type (*vide* the afore-mentioned article) ; and

(6) The Prawn and the Crow Type. (*Vide* my article entitled "On Two Accumulation Drolls of 'The Prawn and the Crow' Type" published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. XIV, pages 1–18.)

In my paper on "An Accumulation Droll and Rhyme from Bihar with Remarks on Accumulation Drolls," which has been published in *The Journal of the Asiatic Society of Bengal*, Vol. LXX, Part III, No. 2, for 1901, pages 99–104, I classified the accumulation drolls on cumulative folk-tales of "The Old Woman and the Pig Type," under two groups or varieties and fixed the story-radical of the first group or variety as follows :—

(1) The hero asks for assistance from a human being, an animal or an object; but he or it refuses positively to aid him.

(2) He then appeals successively to other human beings, animals or objects to punish the preceding human being, animal or object; but every one of them refuses to do so.

(3) Finally, some animal or object consents to punish the preceding animal or object, and, by so consenting sets the whole train in motion, that is to say, causes each of the preceding human beings, animals or objects to give the required aid to the hero.

Under the first group or variety, I classified nine accumulation drolls or cumulative folk-tales of the foregoing variety which were known to folklorists uptil then (1901).

As an additional specimen of this group or variety I published, in that paper, a new cumulative folk-tale which I had collected in Bihar and which may be named "The Story of the Parrot and the Chick-pea".

In my paper entitled "On An Accumulation Droll from Eastern Bengal" which I have published in *The Journal of the Department of Letters of the Calcutta University*, Vol. X, pages 145–153, I have published *yet another* or *eleventh* specimen of Accumulation Droll of the first group or variety which I have named "The Story of the Tuntuni Bird and the Barber".

I have recently come across two Sinhalese accumulation drolls or cumulative folk-tales, one of which is current in the north-western province of the island of Ceylon: while the other variant is narrated by the natives of the southern province of the same island. The first is entitled: "The Female Quail", while the other appears to be a variant of the former and bears no special title. As these two Sinhalese accumulation drolls do not appear to have been studied and discussed from the standpoint of the folklorist or storiologist, and as the *type* or *group* under which these two should be classified, has not yet been determined, I intend to embody, in this paper, the results of my study and discussion thereof. For the purpose of bringing out the full folklore significance of these

two cumulative folk-tales, I give herein below a summarised account, respectively, of the leading incidents thereof :—

THE FEMALE QUAIL

1. A female quail, having laid an egg on a rock, went away in quest of food. Then the overhanging rock closed upon the egg. On her return, she was unable to find the egg.

2. Then she went to a mason and requested him to cut open the rock and give her the egg therefrom. But the mason refused to do so.

3. From there, she went to the village headman and requested him to tie up the house-door of the mason. But the village-headman refused to do so.

4. From there, she went to the pig and requested him to eat up the rice-field of the village-headman. But the pig refused to do so.

5. From there, she went to the Vedda hunter and requested him to shoot the pig with his bow and arrow. But the Vedda hunter refused to do so.

6. From there, she went to the *Timbol*-creeper which possesses long and sharp thorns causing ulcers and requested it to puncture the Vedda hunter. But the *Timbol*-creeper refused to do so.

7. From there, she went to the fire and requested him to burn up the *Timbol*-creeper. But the fire refused to do so.

8. From there, she went to the water-pot and requested him to quench the fire. But the water-pot refused to do so.

9. From there, she went to the elephant and requested him to make the water-pot muddy. But the elephant refused to do so.

10. From there, she went to the rat and requested him to creep into the ear of the elephant. But the rat refused to do so.

11. From there, she went to the cat. The cat said: "Sit down, O bird!" The quail replied: "*What is the use of sitting and staying? What is the use of eating betel-leaf and areca-nut at the corner of the bed?* O cat! Eat the rat who did not creep into the ear of the elephant, the elephant who did not

make the water-pot muddy, the water-pot who did not quench the fire, the fire who did not burn up the *Timbol*-creeper, the *Timbol*-creeper who did not puncture the Vedda hunter, the Vedda hunter who did not shoot the pig, the pig who did not eat up the rice-field of the village-headman, the village-headman who did not tie up the house-door of the mason, the mason who did not cut open the rock and give me the egg therefrom."

Thereupon, the cat agreed to do so and went to catch the rat, the rat went to creep into the ear of the elephant, the elephant went to make the water-pot muddy, the water-pot went to quench the fire, the fire went to burn up the *Timbol*-creeper, the *Timbol*-creeper went to puncture the Vedda hunter, the Vedda hunter went to shoot the pig, the pig went to eat up the rice-field of the village-headman, the village-headman went to tie up the house-door of the mason, the mason went to cut open the rock and take the egg therefrom and give it to the quail.

The afore-mentioned variant of this accumulation droll is current in the north-western province of the island of Ceylon. In a variant which the Collector heard in the southern province of the same island, it is narrated that a bird laid two eggs in a crevice between two stones, which drew close together. (1) She went to a mason or stone-cutter, (2) to a pig, (3) to a hunter, (4) to an elephant whom she requested to kill him, (5) to a lizard, which she told to crawl up the elephant's trunk into his brain, (6) to a jungle-hen which she told to peck and kill the lizard, (7) to a jackal, who, when requested to kill the jungle-hen, at once agreed and said: "It is very good," and set off after her.*

On analysing the afore-mentioned first Sinhalese accumulation droll, I find that the chief actor—the female quail—appealed for help to three human beings, namely, a mason or stone-cutter, the village-headman and a Vedda hunter (*vide* incidents Nos. 2, 3 and 5), but all of them refused to assist

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* *Vide Village Folk-tales of Ceylon, Vol* I, by H. Parker. London: Luzac & Co., 1910, pp. 201-205.

her; then she appealed for help to a plant—a *Timbol*-creeper (*vide* incident No. 6), but it also refused to help her; then she applied for assistance to two natural objects, namely, fire and water (*vide* incidents Nos. 7 and 8), but they also refused to help her.

Lastly, she appealed for help to four mammals, namely, a pig, an elephant, a rat and a cat (*vide* incidents Nos. 4, 9, 10 and 11), of whom the first three refused to assist her. It was only the last beast, namely, the cat that agreed to assist her in the required way and, thereby, compelled the preceding mammals, natural objects and human beings to proffer her the required assistance and enabled her to attain her object.

In the second variant of the foregoing Sinhalese cumulative folk-tale, the female bird, first of all, applied for help to two human beings, namely, a mason and a hunter (*vide* incidents Nos. 1 and 3), but they refused to help her; then she asked for assistance from a little reptile, namely, a lizard (*vide* incident No. 5), but it refused to help her; then she asked for assistance from a bird—a jungle-hen (*vide* incident No. 6), but she also refused to help her in the required way. Lastly, she appealed for help to three mammals, namely, a pig, an elephant and a jackal (see incidents Nos. 2, 4 and 7), of whom the first two flatly refused to help her. It was the last mammal, namely, the jackal that agreed to give her assistance and, thereby, compelled the preceding bird, reptile, mammals, and human beings to act in the desired way.

From the foregoing analysis, I arrive at the conclusion that these two Sinhalese accumulation drolls or cumulative folk-tales belong to the afore-described *first group* or *variety* of "*The Old Woman and the Pig Type*" and that these two Sinhalese accmulation drolls form the *twelfth* and *thirteenth* specimens of the same group that are known to me uptil now (1934).

The first Sinhalese accumulation droll affords us a few glimpses into the social life of the natives of Ceylon. In the first place, we find that the headman of a Sinhalese village exercises considerable authority over the members of the village community and can punish the latter for delinquencies committed by

them. It is for this reason that, when the mason or stone-cutter, who is a member of the village community, refused to cut open the rock and take out the egg therefrom, that the female quail went to the headman, complained to him against the mason, and requested him to punish the latter for refusing to perform his duty.

The Sinhalese custom of according a fitting welcome to guests is to make them sit at the corner of the householder's bed and to treat him to prepared betel-leaves and sliced arecanuts. This is the well-known *Pān-Supāri* ceremony which is performed at the receptions of guests throughout Northern India. (The female quail refused to partake of the proferred betel-leaf and sliced arecanut and to sit at the corner of the bed, because she wanted to come straight to her business.)

Lastly, the Veddas or the aboriginal inhabitants of Ceylon. They are in a very low plane of culture and earn their livelihood by digging up wild Yams and by hunting jungle-game. They are very expert in the use of their bows and arrows. It is for this reason that the female quail appealed to a Vedda hunter and requested him to shoot the pig.

POSTSCRIPT

It will not be out of place to *state* here that there is a good deal of similarity between the Bihari accumulation droll entitled "The Story of the Parrot and the Chick-pea", the East Bengal cumulative folk-tale entitled "The Tuntuni Bird and the Barber" and the Sinhalese accumulation droll named : "The Female Quail". The similar incidents of all the three stories are as follows :—

In the Bihari story, it is narrated that the snake having refused to bite the queen, the hero (parrot) asked the stick (lathi) to beat and kill the snake ; but it refused to do so. Thereupon, he asked the fire to burn up the stick, but it refused to do so. Thereupon, he asked the sea to dry up the river. On the sea's agreeing to do so, every one of the preceding human beings and objects agreed to offer the required assistance to the parrot.

In the East Bengal accumulation droll, the cat having refused to kill the rat, the hero (the *Tuntuni* bird) asked the

*lathi* (or stick) to kill the cat; but it refused to do so. Thereupon, he asked the sea to quench the fire; but it refused to do so. Then, he asked the elephant to drink up the waters of the sea; but it refused to do so. Thereupon, he asked the mosquito to sting the elephant. On the mosquito's agreeing to do so, every one of the preceding human beings, animals and objects consented to help the *Tuntuni* bird in the required way.

In the Sinhalese folk-tale, the *Timbol*-creeper having refused to puncture the Vedda hunter, the heroine (the female quail) asked the fire to burn up the said plant; but it refused to do so. Then, she asked the elephant to make the water-pot muddy; but it refused to do so. Thereupon, she asked the mouse to creep up the elephant's trunk into his brain; but it refused to do so. Then, she asked the cat to catch and kill the mouse. On the cat's agreeing to do so, every one of the preceding human beings, mammals, plant and natural objects went to assist the heroine in the required way.

In the East Bengal accumulation droll, the rat and the cat play their respective parts in the middle of the story. The bird asked the rat to gnaw a hole in the Rāja's fat round belly but it refused to do so. Thereupon, he asked the cat to kill the rat; but it refused to do so.

But, in the first Sinhalese folk-tale, the mouse and the cat play their respective parts in the finale of the story. The heroine (the female quail) asked the mouse to creep up the elephant's trunk into his brain; but it refused to do so. On the cat's agreeing to do so, the whole of the train was set in motion. In the second Sinhalese variant, the mouse's part is played by the lizard; while the cat's part is played by the jackal. In the East Bengal folk-tale, the mouse's and the lizard's parts are played by the mosquito.

The part of the snake in the Bihari accumulation droll is played by the rat and the cat in the East Bengal story, and by the hunter in the two Sinhalese folk-tales. The part played by the *lathi* in the Bihari story is played by the same object in the East Bengal folk-tale and by the *Timbol*-creeper in the first Sinhalese tale and by the elephant in the second Sinhalese variant.

Thus, the similarity between the afore-mentioned three accumulation drolls is complete.

The question now arises: Have the Biharis, the people of Eastern Bengal and the Sinhalese borrowed the afore-mentioned accumulation droll from each other? If not, how has the similarity arisen?

In answer to this question, I must say that the question of borrowing cannot arise in this case, because the afore-mentioned peoples live at a great distance from each other and could not have come into contact with each other within a historical period of time.

The only reasonable reply to the second part of the foregoing question is that, when different peoples, living in the same level of culture but in localities or countries separated from each other by high mountains or wide expanses of seas or oceans, feel or suffer from the same kinds of wants or necessities, they, independently of each other, invent or manufacture the same or analogous kinds of tools or implements, and evolve or fabricate the same or analogous kinds of practices, rites and ceremonies, the similar or analogous kinds of stories and myths and, thereby remove the wants or necessities that they have been feeling or suffering from.

# ON THE FIRE-WALKING CEREMONY OF THE DUSĀDHS OF BIHAR

## Part I. The Fire-Walking Ceremony of the Dusādhs.

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

IN my paper entitled "On the Worship of the Demon Rāhu among the Dusādhs of South Bihar", which I have communicated to the Anthropological Society of Bombay, I have given an account of the fire-walking ceremony which is performed by the Dusādh Caste of South Bihar. In this paper, I shall give two more accounts of the same ceremony which is performed by the members of the same caste and which have been recorded by the renowned anthropologist Sir H. H. Risley, with some additional notes thereupon by myself.

The Dusādhs are a degraded Aryan or the refined Dravidian Cultivating Caste of Bihar and Chota Nagpur, the members of which are largely employed as village watchmen and messengers and have a notoriety for being habitual criminals.

Sir H. H. Risley says :—

"The tribal deity Rāhu (of the Dusādhs) has been transformed by the Brahmans into a Daitya or Titan, who is supposed to cause eclipses by swallowing the sun and moon. Though placed in the orthodox pantheon as the son of the Dānava Viprachitti and Sinhikā, Rāhu has held his ground as the chief diety of the Dusādhs. To avert diseases and in fulfilment of vows, sacrifice of animals and the fruits of the earth are offered to him, at which a Dusādh Bhakat or Chatiya usually presides. On special occasions, a stranger form of worship is performed, parallels to which may be found in the rural cult of the Roman villagers and the worshippers of the Phœnician gods. *A ladder made with sides of green bamboos and rungs of sword-blades, is raised in the midst of a pile of burning mango-wood, through which the Bhakat walks bare-footed and ascends the ladder without injury.* Swine of all ages, a ram, wheaten flour, and

rice-milk (*khir*) are presented; after which the worshippers partake of a feast and drink large quantities of country liquor."

The same learned anthropologist gives another account of the same ceremony which is as follows :—

"Another form of this worship has been described to me by the Dusādhs of Darbhanga and North Bhagalpur. On the fourth, the ninth, or the day of the full-moon of the months Aghan, Māgh, Fālgun, Baisākh, the Dusādh who has bound himself by a vow to offer the fire-sacrifice to Rāhu, must build within the day a thatched hut (*gahbar*) measuring 5 cubits by 4 and having the door-way facing east. Here the priest or Bhakat, himself a Dusādh, who is to officiate at the next day's ordeal must spend that night sleeping on the *Kusa* grass with which the floor is strewn. In front of the door of the hut is a bamboo platform about 3 ft. from the ground, and beyond that again is dug a trench 6 cubits long, a span and a quarter wide, and of the same depth, running east and west. *Fire places are built to the north of the trench. On the next day, being the 5th, the 10th, or the full-moon day of the months mentioned above, the trench is filled with mango-wood soaked in ghee, and two earthern vessels of boiling milk are placed close to the platform.* The Bhakat bathes himself on the north side of the trench and puts on a new cloth dyed for the occasion with turmeric. *He mutters a number of mystic formulæ and worships Rāhu on both sides of the trench. The fire is then kindled and the Bhakat solemnly walks three times round the trench keeping his right hand always towards it. The end of the third round brings him to the east end of the trench, where he takes by the hand a Brahman retained for this purpose with a fee of two new wrappers (Dhotis), and calls upon him to lead the way through the fire. The Brahman then walks along the trench from east to west, followed by the Bhakat. Both are supposed to tread with bare feet on the fire (but I imagine this is, for the most part, an optical illusion). By the time they start, the actual flames have subsided; and the trench is so narrow that very little dexterity would enable a man to walk with his feet on either edge so as not to touch the smouldering ashes at the bottom.* On reaching the west end of the trench, the

Brahman stirs the milk with his hand to see that it has been properly boiled. (Here his part in the ceremony comes to an end.) *By passing through the fire, the Bhakat is believed to have been inspired with the spirit of Rāhu, who has become incarnated in him : filled with the divine or demoniac afflatus, and also, it may be surmised excited by drink and ganja, he mounts the bamboo platform, chants mystic hymns and distributes to the crowd tulsi leaves, which heal diseases otherwise incurable, and flowers which have the virtue of causing barren women to conceive.*"

"The proceedings end with a feast, and religious excitement soon passes into drunken revelry lasting long into the night."

Sir H. H. Risley has also given some further information about the Dusādh deity Rāhu and other godlings and goddesslings worshipped by the members of that caste, in the following paragraph :—

"Next in importance to the worship of Rāhu is that of various deified heroes, in honour of whom huts are erected in different parts of the country, At Sherpur, near Patna, is the shrine of Gauraiā (or Goraiyā), a Dusādh bandit chief, to which members of all castes resort ; the clean caste-men making offerings of meal, the unclean caste-men sacrificing a hog or several young pigs and pouring out libations of spirit on the ground. Throughout Bihar, Salesh or Sālāis said to have been the porter of Bhīm Sen, but afterwards a formidable robber in the Morang or Nepal Terai, is invoked ; a pig being killed, rice and ghee, sweetmeats and spirits are offered. In other districts, Choār Mal is held in reverence and a ram sacrificed. In Mirzapur, the favoured deity is Bīndhāchal, the spirit of the Vindhya mountains. In Patna, it is either Bandī, Moti Ram Kānū or Karwā Bir, Miran, the Pānch Pir, Bhairav, Jagdā Mā, Kāli Devī, Pātanesvarī, or Ketu, the descending node in Hindu astronomy, sometimes represented as the tail of the eclipse-dragon and credited with causing lunar eclipses ; while Rāhu, the ascending node, represented by the head of the dragon, produces a similar phenomenon in the sun. In none of these shrines are there any idols, and the officiating priests are always Dusādhs, who

minister to the Sudra castes frequenting them. The offerings usually go to the priest or the head of the Dusādh household performing the worship ; but fowls sacrificed to Miran and the Pānch Pir are given to local Mahomedans. "*

(1) If we examine the first account, given above of the Dusādh fire-walking ceremony, we shall find therein the mention of the incident about the Dusādh Bhakats walking through a pit of fire and ascending a ladder of bamboo with rungs made of sword-blades. Now, this incident or rite bears some sort of analogy to a rite which is performed in connection with the worship of the Birs among the Musahars of Bihar.

Now, the Musahars (or Bhuiyas, Sādā Banrājs or Banmānushes) constitute a Dravidian cultivating and servile caste of Bihar, and appear to be an off-shoot from the Bhuiya tribe of Chota Nagpur.

A remarkable feature of the religion of the Musahars is the worship of the Birs. These Birs are the spirits of deceased Musahars who, from their abode in the world of the dead, exercise a very malevolent influence upon the mundane world. They are six in number and bear the names of (1) Tulsi Bir, (2) Rikmun Bir, (3) Ram Bir, (4) Bhawār Bir, (5) Asan Bir and (6) Charakh Bir. Rikmun is often described as being the *purka* or ancestor of the tribe. When Rikmun is separately worshipped, the worshipper recites the names of his own immediate ancestors.

The afore-mentioned six Birs are represented by as many balls of clay which are not their dwelling-places but are their symbols or fetishes symbolising them.

On ordinary occasions, these Birs are propitiated with offerings of sweetmeats prepared with clarified butter. But once in every two or three years, all of them are collectively worshipped and propitiated with sacrifice of a more costly and elaborate character. A pig is provided, and country liquor

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* *Vide The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley. In two volumes. Calcutta: printed at the Bengal Secretariat Press, 1891. Vol. I, pp. 254-256.

with a mixture of rice, molasses and milk is offered before each of the afore-mentioned six clay-balls symbolising the Birs.

Then, six Bhakats or devotees are elected, one for each Bir, with the advice and assistance of a Brahman who, strangely enough, is supposed to know the opinion of each Bir about the fitness of his own Bhakat (or minister).

Then, there is performed a curious rite in connection with this worship, which bears some sort of analogy to the afore-described Dusādh rite of walking over a pit of fire and ascending a ladder of bamboos with rungs of cross sword-blades. *The staff of a plough and a stout stake are fixed in the ground and cross-swords are attached to them. Then the Bhakats, having worked themselves up to a sort of hypnotic condition, go through a variety of acrobatic exercises on the upturned sword-blades. If they pass through this ordeal un-injured, it is believed that the Birs have accepted the sacrifice.*

Then, the pig is speared to death with a bamboo stake and its blood is collected in a pot and mixed with country liquor. Some of this mixture is poured forth on the ground and on the balls of clay which symbolise the Birs ; while the remainder of the mixture is drunk by the Bhakats. The ceremony winds up with a feast in which the worshippers partake of the viands that had been presented to the Birs by way of offering.†

I am inclined to think that, in the Dusādh rite of ascending the ladder, the fact of the fire-walker's feet being uncut by the upturned sword-blades is believed to indicate that the fire-offering has been accepted by the demon Rāhu. While the Musahar rite of performing acrobatic exercises on the upturned cross-swords is believed to show that the worship has been sincere and that the offering of meat and drink has been accepted by the Birs.

(2) On examining the second account of the fire-walking ceremony, we find it is described therein that the Brahman and

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† *Vide The Tribes and Castes of Bengal*, by H. H. Risley. Edition 1891, Vol. II, page 117.

the Bhakat walk along the trench from east to west, treading on the fire with their bare feet. With respect to this feat, Sir H. H. Risley says "But I imagine this is, for the most part, an optical illusion. By the time they start, the actual flames have subsided, and the trench is so narrow that very little dexterity would enable a man to walk with his feet on either edge so as not to touch the smouldering ashes at the bottom."

With due deference to that learned anthropologist, I must say that his opinion to the effect that the feat of treading on the fire with bare feet is an optical illusion is untenable. It must be borne in mind that the Dusādhs are a primitive people and walk about with bare feet. This habit of walking bare-footed hardens the soles of their feet to the thickness and toughness of the rhinoceros-hide. Being possessed of such thick-skinned and tough soles, it is not at all difficult for a Dusādh to tread on hot ashes (but not on actual red hot wood-charcoal) with his bare feet. On this point, an European gentleman, who has witnessed a similar fire-walking ceremony in Chota Nagpur, says :

"Mediæval law laid down that innocence was proved by the suspect walking unharmed on the embers of *pipal*-wood glowing in an excavation nine hands long, by one span deep, by two spans broad, a feat not difficult of accomplishment, really, to a race accustomed to covering the soles of their feet to the consistency of the rhinoceros-hide by invariably moving bare-foot. Nine hands are equivalent to three and a half yards, a distance which would require a maximum of three steps to traverse. I saw the ordeal performed by a party of strolling players in Chota Nagpur some few years ago and I can assure the reader that they negotiated a pit considerably longer than the ten and a a half feet prescribed by ancient law."$

## Part II. The South Indian Form of the Fire-Walking Ceremony

While describing and discussing the fire-walking ceremony performed by the Dusādhs of Bihar, it will not, I hope, be out of

$ *Vide* the article entitled *Indian Trials by Ordeal* in the Calcutta daily *Englishman* of 15th May 1932.

place to say here something about the form of the fire-walking ceremony performed by the people of Southern India and by South Indian settlers in Natal.

I must here describe such a ceremony which was witnessed by an European gentleman in Natal and of which an account has been published by him in *Man* (published from London) for January 1933. The gentleman in question is Mr. R. N. Sayce who witnessed the ceremony in 1926 at Pietermartzburg (in Natal) near the Mariamin (*Mariamma*, the South Indian equivalent of the North Indian Kāḷī) temple in the Indian quarter of the town. *The celebrations continued for* 10 *days together and were concluded by fire-walking.* The participants, who were probably all of South Indian origin, performed this ceremony in fulfilment of a vow made during some sickness or misfortune to walk through the pit containing hot ashes. By its side were two smaller pits, one filled with turmeric water to clean and purify the feet of the fire-walkers before stepping into the hot ashes; another pit filled with cow's milk supplied by childless women or by people who had been sick and had vowed to supply the milk. After a goat had been sacrified to the goddess (*Mariamma*), the devotees first walked through the turmeric water, then through the hot ashes and lastly through the milk-pit. Finally, the milk from the pit was thrown on to the ashes; while some people gathered the holy ashes from the pit either for streaking their foreheads with during prayer-time or very likely in accordance with an ancient custom, for being mixed with water and then drunk in order that the drinkers thereof might be cured of some ailment.

From the foregoing account, we find that the South Indian settlers in South Africa have carried with them into that country their time-honoured custom of walking over fire (*or rather hot ashes*) in fulfilment of some vow or vows made by them to the effect that, in case of their recovery from some illness or their being saved from some difficulty or tribulation, they would walk over fire (*or hot ashes*) by way of thanksgiving to the goddess *Mariamma* who is the South Indian counterpart of the North Indian goddess Kāḷī. But, it is a pity that the

European gentleman has not recorded whether or not after washing their feet with turmeric water, the performers of the ceremony besmeared the soles of their feet with some kind of ointment, as it is the practice to do in the Madras Presidency at the present day.

The fire-walking ceremony is annually performed in the village of Allandur near St. Thomas Mount in the outskirts of the city of Madras in honour of Draupadī, the joint-wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers. This ceremony has been held there for over half a century. The circumstances under which this ceremony originated may be shortly stated as follows :—In the great Indian epic the *Mahābhārata* it is narrated that, during the pendency of the great war between the Pāṇḍavas and the Kauravas, Draupadī, the joint-wife of the five Pāṇḍava brothers, had been subjected to the greatest insult by the Kauravas. After the termination of this war, she was called upon to undergo the ordeal by fire in order to prove her immaculate chastity. This she did to the entire satisfaction of her five husbands and the assembled great men. As the result of her successfully undergoing the fire-ordeal, she proclaimed to the whole world that whoever, by placing implict faith in her powers, would undertake to walk over fire, would be cured of any disease he might be suffering from and would attain the cherished desires of his heart.

In the temple at Allandur, Draupadī is worshipped by the people ; and the annual festival is celebrated in her honour. It is superstitiously believed by the people that the celebration of this festival brings to the villagers the boons of their cattle and crops remaining safe and sound and of protection from dangers of all kinds. While in some villages this festival is celebrated annually ; in others, for want of pecuniary means, it is held once in 3, 7, 10 or 12 years or in times of outbreaks of epidemics such as smallpox, cholera or plague.

At Allandur, the annual festival in honour of Draupadī is held for ten days. On the termination of the festival after ten days, the fire-walking ceremony takes place. A shallow trench is dug. In this trench, jungle-wood and charcoal are

burnt until the whole is one mass of glowing embers. The embers are taken out and spread on the ground near the trench. Then water is freely sprinkled over these embers. Thereafter the vow-takers, accompanied by the priest, walk over these hot ashes. Many of the assembled spectators carry away some of the holy ashes of the fire for using the same as a charm to drive away devils and demons.

It is commonly explained that the foot of the fire-walkers are not burnt by the embers or hot ashes, because they will smear the soles of their feet with a decoction prepared from the *Alœ indica.*

The Mahomedans of the Madras Presidency also undergo some sort of fire-ordeal during the Muharram festival.‡

The Badagas, a Dravidian tribe which inhabits the Nilgiri Hills (in the Madras Presidency), also perform the fire-walking ceremony. It has been described as follows :—

"Before the January new moon, the Jadēswami or fire-walking rite is celebrated ; and before it, the worshippers must fast for eight days. First, there is the milk-boiling ceremony. Two pots full of milk are set side by side on two hearths ; if, when they boil, the overflow is uniform, the crops in the whole area will be good ; but if either pot overflows more than the other, the crops on that side of the village only will be abundant. *Next, the Pūjāri spreads the embers over an area of some five yards by three, and over them throws, first, flowers and, then, milk. If the occasion be auspicious, the flowers will remain unscorched for a few seconds and the milk will make no hissing sound. Subsequently, the Pūjāri walks through or rather runs across the hot cinders, followed by the other men of the tribe. Should the hair of any man's feet be singed, bad luck or even death during the year is signified ; but if not, then good fortune lies in store.*"

"When the ceremony was first introduced about seventy years ago, the Badagas were rather averse to walking through

‡ For a fuller account of the South Indian Fire-Walking Ceremony, see *Madras Government Museum Bulletin* (Anthropology), Vol. IV, No. 1, pp. 55-61.

the open fire, until their fear was dispelled by a miraculous sign. A stone snake in the temple of Mahālinga Swāmi came to life, made a hole in the wall of the building, crawled to and over the embers, and, having returned to its assigned place, became stone once more. The hole in the wall is still pointed out by the tribe."¶

## Part III. Fire-Walking in the Fiji Islands and in Other Parts of the World

The islanders who live in Fiji Islands in the South Pacific, also perform a fire-walking ceremony. In this case, the performer of the ceremony has to perambulate over hot boulders of stone. A coloured plate and a photograph or two illustrating this Figian fire-walking ceremony have been given in Vol. I of Haddon's *Customs of the World.* It is said that "a marked difference between the Fijian and Indian paraphernalia is that in India no big stones are placed in the pit. The Hindu fire-walker merely passes across incandescent cinders more or less quickly and does not perambulate slowly over red-hot water-worn boulders as the Fijian is described as doing".||

Customs analogous to the afore-described fire-walking ceremony are also prevalent in England, Scotland and other countries. An excellent account of these customs has been given by Mr. M. J. Walhouse in *The Indian Antiquary* for 1878.

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¶ *Vide* the article entitled *Fire-Walkers* in the Calcutta daily *Statesman and Friend of India*, of 8th July 1932.

|| *Vide Madras Government Museum Bulletin* (Anthropology), Vol. IV, No. 1, p. 60.

# STUDIES IN BIRD-MYTHS
## No. XLIX

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[On a Sema Nāgā Ætiological Myth about the Origin of the Jungle-Crow's Habit of Pecking the Flesh of Men]

THE crow, which is referred to in the Sema Nāgā ætiological myth forming the subject-matter of this paper, is, no doubt, the Jungle-Crow (*Corvus macrorhynchus*).

In my paper entitled *Studies in Bird-Myths, No. XXXI. On a Sema Nāgā Ætiological Myth about the Black Colour of the Jungle-Crow, the Red Colour of the Scarlet Minivet and the Red Chin of the Ruby-Throat*, which has been published in *The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society*, Vol. XXI, pp. 69–72, I have given a description of the appearance, habits and habitat of the Jungle-Crow, as also an account of the habitat of the Mongoloid people who goes by the name of the Sema Nāgās.

These Sema Nāgās are familiar with the Jungle-Crow's habit of pecking the flesh of men. They, therefore, narrate the under-mentioned ætiological myth to account for the origin of this habit of the Jungle-Crow (*Corvus macrorhynchus*). It is as follows :—

Once upon a time, there were two brothers. The elder brother married an ugly-looking Sky-maiden. But, the younger one took unto wife a beautiful-looking Sky-maiden. The elder brother treacherously murdered his younger brother in order that he might marry the latter's beautiful widow. The younger brother's widow directed the elder brother to light a fire before she would marry him. This was accordingly done and, in the smoke of the fire, the younger brother's widow went up to the sky where she gave birth to a son. The son expressed a wish to return to his father's village on the earth. His mother, therefore, tied a cord round his waist and let him down from the sky. While he was descending, a crow (very likely, the Jungle-Crow) cut the cord in twain

and dashed the boy to death and pecked at his mangled flesh. The Sema Nāgās, therefore, say since that time the Jungle-Crows have pecked the flesh of men.*

From a study of the preceding ætiological myth, we find that :—

(1) Though the Sema Nāgās were rude and uncultured folk, they were keen observers of the habits and peculiarities of birds.

(2) Being ignorant of the scientific laws which account for the origin of the habits of beasts and birds, they fabricated the preceding myth to account for the origin of the afore-described habit of the Jungle-Crow.

(3) The Sema Nāgās believe in the existence of super-natural beings in the celestial regions who marry the human residents of the mundane earth and who come down to the earth and go up therefrom to the sky at their sweet will and pleasure.

(4) Most likely, the custom of the *Senior Levirate*, that is to say, of the custom according to which an elder brother can marry the widow of a deceased younger brother, exists among the Sema Nāgās.

(5) Most likely, the kindling of a fire forms an essential element of the rites performed at the marriages of the Sema Nāgās.

(6) The most noteworthy incident in the foregoing myth is the fact that the offspring born of the union of a celes-tial being and a human resident of the earth tried to come down to the mundane region by means of a cord but that a bird cut the cord in twain whereupon he was dashed down to the earth below and that the bird fed upon his mangled remains. This incident resembles an analogous event which occurs in the under-mentioned legend current among an aboriginal people living in Celebes :—

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* *Vide* the folk-tale entitled "The Fairy Wife" in *The Sema Nāgās*, by J. H. Hutton, M.A., I.C.S., C.I.E. Published by sanction of the Assam Government. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 329–30.

The Bari'e-speaking Toradjas, who dwell in Central Celebes, narrate a legend to the effect that, in very ancient times, all men lived together and that the earth and the sky were connected with each other by means of a creeper. One day, a handsome young man of celestial origin whom the Toradjas call Mr. Sun, came down to the earth, riding on a white buffalo. He came across a girl whom he found working in the fields and immediately fell in love with her. Then, he took her to wife. They lived together upon the earth for some time. During this interval, Mr. Sun taught the people of Central Celebes the art of agriculture and also supplied them with buffaloes. (Note that Mr. Sun was a culture-hero.) But, one day, it came to pass that the child, whom Mr. Sun had begotten by his human wife, misbehaved in the house and so much angered his father that the latter, in disgust with mankind, returned to the celestial region by means of the creeper. His wife made a desperate attempt to clamber up by means of the creeper in pursuit of her husband. But, the latter cut the creeper in twain, whereupon both she and the sundered stems of the climbing plant toppled down to the earth below and were metamorphosed into stones. These may be seen, even to the present day, in the form of a limestone hill which is situated at a short distance from the River Wimbi. This hill resembles in shape a coil of rope and bears the name of the Creeper Hill.†

† *Folklore in the Old Testament*, by Sir J. G. Frazer. Abridged Edition. New York: The Macmillan Company, 1923, p. 229.

# STUDIES IN PLANT-MYTHS
## No. XXVII

BY SARAT CHANDRA MITRA, M.A., B.L.

[Angāmi Nāgā (and Lhota Nāgā) Folk-tale about the Metamorphosis of a Semi-Divine Girl into an Orange Fruit]

THE sweet orange tree (*Citrus aurantium*, Linn.), which belongs to the order *Rutaceæ*, grows to a height of fifty feet with a trunk twelve feet in circumference. This tree is said to attain great age. An orange tree at the Convent of St. Sabina at Rome dates from the year 1200 A.D.

The orange tree is cultivated in most parts of India, but especially so in the villages on the southern face of the Khasia Hills in Nagpur in the Central Provinces, and, to a small extent, in Nepal, Sikkim and one or two Himalayan Stations. It is also met with in Burma.

There are four different races of the orange :—(1) *Sāntārā* ; (2) *Keoṇlā* ; (3) *Malba* ; and (4) *Manderin.*

The dried outer portion of the rive of the orange possesses stomachic and tonic properties. It is useful in atonic dyspepsia and general debility. The water distilled from orange flowers is employed as an anti-spasmodic and sedative in nervous and hysterical cases. The syrup of orange flower is chiefly used as a flavouring agent and to perfume external applications. The juice of the orange fruit is valuable in bilious affections and stops bilious diarrhæa. It is the safest of acid fruits. The peel is used for checking vomiting. The orange-poultice is recommended in skin-affections such as psoriasis.

Oranges are in great repute among the Hindu physicians. They purify blood, allay thirst in fever, cure catarrh and improve appetite.

The Angāmi Nāgās are a Mongoloid people who live in the hills to the south of the valley of the Brahmaputra. They also occupy a portion of the territory which is situated to the

north of Manipur. The Ringma Nāgās dwell in a little triangle north of the western Agani country. The Lhotas are another tribe of the Nāgās who live in the country to the north of the tract occupied by the Ringma Nāgās.

Both the Angāmi Nāgās and the Lhota Nāgās narrate the under-mentioned folk-tale about a god's daughter named Hunchbili who was metamorphosed by the potency of magical spells, first into a bamboo-plant and then into an orange-fruit.* It runs as follows :—

### Hunchbili

Once upon a time, a wild boar, which is called by the Lhota Nāgās "the Pig of the Gods," browsed upon the crops of a field. It was wounded by the Lhota owner of the field who tracked it by the trail of its blood to a cave which he entered. Therein he found a god who asked what the new comer wanted and whether he had wounded the boar. Being greatly terrified, he replied that he had come there to ask for the hand of the god's daughter in marriage.

Thereupon, the god showed the Lhota Nāgā his two daughters, one of whom was ugly but rigged up in fine clothes ; but the other was handsome-looking but naked and dirty. The man chose the latter and took her away in a basket.

When the man arrived at his village, he left the basket by a water-hole and went to call his kinsmen.

In the meantime, a woman named Hunchbili came there and looked into the basket. Then, she pulled out the god's daughter from inside the basket and, throwing her into the stream, herself took the latter's place inside the basket and closed the lid of the basket from within it.

When the man and his kinsmen arrived there, they opened the basket but were disgusted to find the ugly-looking Hunchbili therein. They laughed at the man for having told

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* The version of the folk-tale which is given here is current among the Lhota Nāgās. But this story is also current among the Angāmi Nāgās and the Sema Nāgās. It has, therefore, been described in this paper as an Angāmi Nāgā folk-tale.

them a falsehood to the effect that he had brought a beautiful wife.

Being non-plussed, the man believed that Hunchbili was the girl whom he had brought from the cave and married her.

In the meantime, the real wife, who had been thrown into the stream, had been metamorphosed into the young shoot of a bamboo-plant. The man cut this shoot and, bringing it home, had it cooked.

When the shoot was being cooked over the fire, it kept oozing from inside the pot.

" Hunchbili, la, la, la, la."

Hearing this, the man was greatly terrified and threw the shoot away.

After the bamboo shoot had been thrown away, it was transformed into an orange tree which the man nurtured.

In course of time, this orange tree bore a single orange which ripened. Whenever Hunchbili came near it, it swung far away from her. But when her husband, the man, came near it, the fruit swang close to him. At last, he plucked this ripe orange and placed it inside a basket, and then he forgot all about it.

Then when he and Hunchbili returned home from working in the field, they were astonished to find that, during their absence, somebody had tidied up the husband's bed but had dirtied Hunchbili's bed with filth and dung. This continued to happen every day.

Being unable to find out who did this, he one day concealed himself in the house and was agreeably surprised to find that it was the god's daughter who did all this during their absence. Then he caught hold of her and heard from her the whole story.

Then, he killed Hunchbili and the *kachu* plant (arun), which she was bringing home, got soaked with her blood; and from that time forward, the red *kachus* (aruns) have made men smart with their acrid juice.†

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† For this folk-tale *vide The Angāmi Nāgās*, by J. A. Hutton. London: Macmillan & Co., Ltd., 1921, pp. 280-82.

From a study of the foregoing Angāmi Nāgā and Lhoto Nāgā folk-tale, we find that :—

(1) Both the Angāmi Nāgās and the Lhota Nāgās believe in the existence of the vegetation-spirit which dwells in the blood and flesh of human beings and spiritual beings like the god's daughter whom the hero of the preceding folk-tale had brought from the cave interested by the god.

Now, we find that the conception of the blood being the seat of the vegetable-soul or vegetation-spirit is also prevalent among several modern races of people in a low plane of culture. It is for this reason that these latter people sprinkle blood upon their fields under the impression that the same will cause bumper crops to grow. For instance, among the Pawnus of America, the blood was squeezed from a piece of the sacrificed victim's body upon the newly-deposited grains of corn. By this ritual, they hoped to obtain plentiful crops. The Marimos, a Bechuana tribe of West Africa, sacrifice a human being for the purpose of fertilising the crops. His coagulated blood is burnt along with the frontal bone, the flesh attached to it and the brain, the ashes being then scattered over the ground to fertilise it.

As regards the conception of various kinds of trees and plants growing from the corpse or flesh of a slain human being, see my article entitled "On Two Duran Aetiological Myths about the Paddy-Plant," which has been published in *Man in India* (Ranchi), Vol. VI, pp. 146–49.

(2) The gods of the Angāmi Nāgās and the Lhota Nāgās appear to dwell in caves and other parts of the mundane regions and keep herds of pigs which are sacred to them. They are visible to and talk with human beings.

(3) The Nāgā folk-tale of Hunchbili is closely parallel to the Thado Kuki story of Ashijaul which has been published by Mr. William Shaw in *The Journal and Proceedings of the Asiatic Society of Bengal* (N. S.), Vol. XXIV (1928), No. 1, pp. 106–7. In the former, the heroine, the god's daughter, is metamorphosed into an orange fruit. But, in the latter, the heroine Ashijaul is transformed into an unnamed fruit.

(4) The incident of the god's daughter emerging from the orange fruit and performing the household work during the absence of her husband and her false co-wife is closely similar to a like incident in the story of Ashijaul as also in Sambali, Lepcha and American Indian Folklore. (*Vide* my articles on "The Dog-Bride in Sambali and Lepcha Folklore" and "Further News on the Dog-Bride, etc." which have respectively been published in *J.B.O.R.S.* for September 1928, and for September—December 1929.

(5) Shakespeare has very truly said:

"Murder, though it have no tongue, will speak
With most miraculous organ."

The truth of this dictum of Shakespeare has been very convincingly illustrated by both the Nāgā and the Thado Kuki folk-tales.

(6) The Angāmi Nāgā and Lhota Nāgā folk-tale inculcates the grand moral truth that virtue will ultimately triumph over wickedness, treachery and deceit.

# THE TWENTY-SIXTH ANNUAL MEETING OF THE MYTHIC SOCIETY

*Bangalore, August* 6, 1936

RAJAMANTRAPRAVINA S. P. RAJAGOPALACHARI, B.A., B.L.
*in the Chair*

THE Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting of the Mythic Society was held in the Daly Memorial Hall on Thursday, the 6th August 1936, with Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagolapachari, B.A., B.L., in the Chair.

In welcoming the distinguished Chairman of the evening, the President of the Society, Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, spoke as follows :—

MR. RAJAGOPALACHARI AND GENTLEMEN,

Before proceeding to the business of the day, I deem it a duty to recall to our minds the honoured names of Father Tabard who founded the Mythic Society and Sir Hugh Daly, one of our former Residents, whose enthusiastic support helped the development of our Society. To Father Tabard, we owe the perpetuation of Sir Hugh Daly's name by associating it with this building. Father Tabard, though he is now dead for some years, still appears with his fine presence and tall form to some of us who had seen him as if addressing an audience from this platform.

Mr. Rajagopalachari, who has kindly consented to take the Chair this evening in spite of his numerous preoccupations, is no stranger to us and it would be supererogatory on my part to introduce him to you. He has been in our midst for thirty years past now and has established a name for hard work, sobriety of judgment and strictness of discipline tempered by kindliness of heart. In spite of the heavy work that has fallen to his share during the absence of the permanent Dewan, Sir Mirza Ismail, he has, as it has been patent to us all, shown no diminution in his out-door activities: nor do we find any traces of weariness in the speeches he has made.

It has been my good fortune to have known Mr. Rajagopalachari now for a number of years and he was the subject of a curious study for me in the early years of his advent to the Mysore State. In my school days, there was a Sanskrit Pandit who, whenever he met any person who came from the Tamil country, always used to exclaim,—'Mayaḥ, Śambaraḥ, Maricaḥ, Śiṣyavaḥ, Praśiṣyavaḥ, Coḷadeśa nivāsinām.' Maya, Śambara and Marica, adepts in deceitful practices as they were, were they disciples or the disciples' desciples of the inhabitants of the Coḷa country? Mr. Rajagopalachari comes from Srirangam which is situated close to Trichinopoly, once the capital of the Coḷa kings. In spite of my close scrutiny for the past many years, I have not found that he has brought any traces of the characteristics attributed to the people of his country by the old Pandit mentioned by me. On the other hand, my association with Mr. Rajagopalachari has led me to the conclusion that our old Pandit's utterance as a general main truth was a gross libel. On many occasions, I have found Mr. Rajagopalachari and several others like him express abhorence of the ways of the 'Heathen Chinese' and support truth and justice. I now seek your permission to offer our hearty welcome to Mr. Rajagopalachari, the Chairman of this evening, and to request him to conduct the proceedings of the day.

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Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary and Treasurer, then presented the following Report for the year 1935–36.

## ANNUAL REPORT FOR THE YEAR 1935–36

The Committee of the Mythic Society have great pleasure in placing before you this evening a Report of the Society's activities for the year 1935–36.

The members of the Mythic Society, along with their fellow-subjects in the vast dominions of the British Empire, learnt with profound sorrow the sad demise, during the year, of His Imperial Majesty King George V, Emperor of India and of the Dominions beyond the Seas, the Silver Jubilee of whose reign was celebrated with universal enthusiasm and rejoicing throughout the wide world only a few months prior

to his lamented death. During the long reign of King George, the world witnessed great upheavels, chief among which may be mentioned the Great War of 1914–18 and the rise of several movements calculated to affect personal liberty and mass consciousness. The disruptive tendencies observable in many European states and elsewhere gained no foothold in any part of the British Empire. The steadying influence of the Crown and the universal regard and loyalty of the people to the person of King George have been largely responsible to the present stable condition of the British Commonwealth of Nations. In India itself, a great step forward has been taken towards constitutional developments. By the death of King George V, the world has lost not only a great king and statesman but a great lover of humanity and of the peace of the world. We desire to tender our most heartfelt sympathy to the afflicted Queen and the members of the Royal Family.

His Majesty King Edward VIII succeeds to the throne of his ancestors and is the heir to a great name and a great example. As Prince of Wales, he endeared himself and won the hearts of his subjects throughout the Empire. A dastardly attack of a maniac throwing a missile at the King's charger a few days ago sent a thrill of horror round the civilized world. The King proceeded unperturbed, notwithstanding the incident, to attend the ceremony where he presented colours to the guards. The messages of concern at the incident and of relief at His Majesty's providential escape sent from all parts of the world demonstrate in what great esteem King Edward VIII is held by all his subjects and others all over the globe. We are all profoundly grateful to Providence that the risk to which the King was exposed was so promptly averted.

Our Patron, His Highness the Maharaja Sri Krishnaraja Wadiyar, is now in Europe for the benefit of his health and we hope and pray he will return completely restored to health in the near future.

The Diamond Jubilee of the reign of His Highness the Maharaja Gaekwar of Baroda, Vice-Patron of the Society, a far sighted and sagacious Indian ruler and an illustrious patron

of Oriental learning, was celebrated with great rejoicing in January last. We offer our respectful felicitations to His Highness and pray that he may long be spared to rule over his subjects.

To our popular Dewan, Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, we extend our hearty congratulations on the well-merited distinction of K.C.I.E. bestowed upon him in the New Year Honours.

The Eighth Session of the All-India Oriental Conference was held at Mysore in December last. On behalf of the Mythic Society, the following were selected as delegates to represent it at the Conference :—(1) Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, President; (2) Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, Vice-President; (3) Mr. S. Srikantaya, General Secretary; (4) Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, Joint Secretary; and (5) Rajacharitavisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, Branch Secretary for Ethnology. It is a matter of great satisfaction to us that while the President of the Conference, Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar was himself an outstanding founder-member of the Society and one of its Honorary Vice-Presidents, two of our delegates—Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar and Rajacharitavisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao—were Sectional Presidents of the Oriental Conference.

We have next to congratulate Rajasevasakta Diwan Bahadur Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar on the recent title of Diwan Bahadur that has been conferred on him and also on the attainment of his sixty-sixth birthday which was fittingly celebrated at Madras when a memorial volume was presented to him. The Mythic Society was represented on the occasion by the Secretary.

*Meetings.*—Several meetings were held during the year at which lectures were delivered. "Dohada in Indian Art and Literature" formed the subject of an interesting lecture by Prof. K. R. Pisharoti of the Annamalai University.

*Finance.*—The total receipts for the year including an opening balance of Rs. 119–5–4 was Rs. 2,946–3–4. The total expenditure was Rs. 2,798–4–6 leaving a closing balance of Rs. 147–14–10. Our Reserve Fund continues to stand at Rs. 11,750. We appeal to our members whose subscriptions are in arrears to pay them up at once and request every member to introduce at least one new member to the Society. We are grateful to the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore for renewing the temporary grant of Rs. 50 for a further period of one year.

Our financial troubles which started with the cut in our grants still continue to be acute. Now that the cuts to Aided High and Middle Schools have been removed and orders have been passed restoring their original grants, we hope our grants will also be soon restored. Without a restoration of the original grants and a substantial increase in our membership, it will be very difficult either to attend to the daily needs of the Society meeting the ordinary expenditure on establishment and upkeep or any expansion of the Society's activities.

Our thanks are due to Mr. T. M. S. Subramaniam of the Bank of Mysore, Ltd., who continues to audit our accounts in an honorary capacity.

*Reading Room.*—The total number of visitors to the Free Reading Room attached to the Library during the year was 3,237. Daily and weekly papers are placed on the table, while the more important and learned periodicals which are being bound and preserved are kept in a separate almirah and made easily available to visitors.

*Library.*—The Library of the Mythic Society contains many rare and valuable books concerned with historical and oriental research. A few books were purchased and some others received by presentation during the year under review. Our work in the acquisition of learned periodicals and the reports of various archæological and epigraphical departments continues and, during the year under review, the missing numbers of several periodicals were secured with great effort and they

have been bound and brought up-to-date. We appeal to all those interested in this institution to present the Library with books and periodicals dealing with all branches of antiquarian study. Our thanks are due to the Government of India; the several provincial administrations in India and Burma, the States of Mysore, Hyderabad, Baroda, Travancore, Cochin, Pudukkotai and Gwalior; the Universities of Mysore, Madras, Calcutta and Dacca and the Annamalai University and various other authors and publishers for sending us their publications for accession to the Library and for review in the *Journal.*

*Journal.—The Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* continues to maintain the high standard set for it by its promoters. During the year under review, double numbers had to be published owing to causes beyond our control.

*Exchanges.*—Our exchanges number over a hundred and among them are included almost all the learned periodicals of the world. They are carefully bound and preserved in the Library for study and reference.

*Daly Memorial Hall.*—The Daly Memorial Hall with its spacious premises is being maintained in proper repair and good condition. Situated as it is in a quiet locality and in the proximity of all offices and within easy reach from all parts of the City and the C. & M. Station, the Hall continues to be in demand for meetings of various other associations. The garden is being re-laid in consultation with the Horticultural Department and we hope ere long to have a new orientation in its lay-out.

In conclusion, we beg to express our deep gratitude to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, His Highness the Yuvaraja, the Government of His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore, the Government of India and the Hon'ble the British Resident in Mysore, for their continued sympathy and support.

BANGALORE CITY,<br>*August* 6, 1936.

S. SRIKANTAYA,<br>*General Secretary.*

On being proposed by the President and seconded by Rao Bahadur B. K. Garudachar, the Report was duly adopted.

* * *

The following office-bearers for the year 1936–37 were then elected :

*President* :

Rajakaryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao.

*Vice-Presidents* :

1. Amin-ul-Mulk Sir Mirza M. Ismail, K.C.I.E., O.B.E.
2. Rajadharmapravina Diwan Bahadur K. S. Chandrasekhara Aiyar, B.A., B.L.
3. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur P. Raghavendra Rao, B.A., B.L.
4. Rajasabhabhushana Diwan Bahadur K. R. Srinivasiengar, M.A.
5. Rajasabhabhushana K. Chandy, B.A.
6. Rajamantrapravina Diwan Bahadur K. Matthan, B.A.
7. Praktana Vimarsha Vichakshana Karnataka Prachya Vidya Vaibhava Mahamahopadhyaya Rao Bahadur R. Narasimhachar, M.A.
8. Dr. E. P. Metcalfe, D.SC.
9. H. D. C. Reilly.
10. Arthasastravisharada Mahamohopadhyaya Dr. R. Shama Sastri, B.A. Ph.D.
11. Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopalachari, B.A., B.L.

*General Secretary and Treasurer* :

Mr. S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.

*Joint Secretary* :

Mr. A. V. Ramanathan, B.A.

*Editors* :

1. Mr. S. Srikantaya, B.A., B.L.
2. Mr. K. Devanathachariar, M.A.

*Branch Secretaries* :

*For Ethnology*—Rajacharitavisharada Rao Sahib C. Hayavadana Rao, B.A., B.L.

*For History*—Rev. Fr. C. Browne, M.A.

*For Folklore*—Mr. B. Puttaiya, B.A.

*Committee* :

The above *ex-officio* and

1. Mr. N. S. Subba Rao, M.A., Bar-at-Law.
2. Mr. A. R. Wadia, B.A., Bar-at-Law.
3. Dr. M. H. Krishna, M.A., D.Litt.
4. Mr. S. Shamanna, B.A.
5. Mr. B. M. Srikantia, M.A., B.L.
6. Dr. C. B. Rama Rao, B.A., M.D.
7. Mr. J. R. Isaac, B.A., M.B.E.
8. Mr. V. T. Tirunarayana Iyengar, M.A.

* * *

The Chairman of the Meeting, Rajamantrapravina S. P. Rajagopalachari, then delivered the following address :—

## CHAIRMAN'S ADDRESS

MR. PRESIDENT, LADIES AND GENTLEMEN,

The Mythic Society is justly famous as a unique institution devoted to research in connection with the history, archæology and folklore of this great country. I fully appreciate the high honour that the Society has done me by asking me to preside at the Twenty-Sixth Annual Meeting. Looking at the list of gentlemen who preceded me as Chairmen on similar occasions, which includes savants and scientists, statesmen and judges, I realise that the task before me this evening is not an easy one. I cannot lay claim to have made any antiquarian researches in any of the subjects which the Society has made its own. However, as a member of the Society almost from the beginning, my interest in the work of the Society has been deep and continuous and I have been keenly watching the progress it has made from its small beginnings to the proud position that it holds among similar learned societies in India or elsewhere.

The Society during the past twenty-five years has indeed achieved notable results and it has, I think, every reason to congratulate itself on its achievement. It has developed into a learned society of international reputation with a habitation, a library and a reading room of its own. It has, besides, to its credit a large and growing number of members on its rolls, and a journal which keeps it in touch with its compeers the world over. Its reputation has been built up by the labour of sincere workers and well-wishers in the fields of research which it has made peculiarly its own. More than all this, the Society has been the means of bringing together Indians and Europeans on a common platform and helping to create that feeling of oneness which cultural contact so readily tends to foster. You have made possibile by your work the realization of the poet's fond hope :—

And there shall come a time
When each to the other shall be a brother to brother.

A Society that promotes such a feeling if it did nothing else would, I think, be justly entitled to our thanks and to our respect.

But you have achieved much more. And I feel sanguine you are likely to do much more in the future. If you have so far made Mysore known in far-away continents by your learned journal, there is no reason why you should not, before many years pass by, have helped towards the writing of a true history of Mysore in the language which is her own. What may not be achieved by your Society joining hands with, for instance, the Karnataka Sahitya Parishad in an endeavour of this kind? Then, again, I see no reason why cultural associations of this kind, scattered through the provinces and states of India, should not combine to produce a true history of India itself. It is to learned societies of your type that the country turns to fill that gap which now unfortunately exists between the present and the past and thus pave the way for the reconstructed history of this ancient land, whose past is yet in so many respects a sealed book.

It is, however, easy to realise that research work of this kind is subject to two severe handicaps, *viz.*, want of earnest people to carry on the work properly and want of money. In order to make real progress, the Society should be able to attract a band of earnest and sincere workers devoting themselves to study for its own sake. "To make our Society a complete success, what we are in need of mostly is enthusiasm" said Father Tabard in his speech at the Thirteenth Annual Meeting of your Society. It is this spirit of enthusiasm which should inspire us in our attitude towards the Society and the noble cause which it stands for. Moreover, in the case of a learned society like yours, it is a case of many that come but few are called. If your contributors and research scholars are not very large, it is due to the inherent difficulty of the subjects the Society is interested in. In this connection, I would like to see greater co-operation between the Mysore University and the Society. The University, as you are aware, has got a very fine historical side and the Archæological Department is also very strong. Their annual reports contain a wealth of original information relating to the history, not merely of Mysore but of all other surrounding tracts. Their work in connection with the architectural monuments of the country is very well known. It should be possible, indeed, to establish greater contact with the University and thereby make your institution more popular with the general public.

The other handicap from which you are suffering is, of course, the ever-recurring financial problem. The financial position of the Society on which so much of the progress that you are longing for depends is intimately connected with the degree of the enthusiasm which the intellectual and cultural activities of the Society will generate amongst the intelligentsia of the land. No cause could be more worthy of such enthusiasm on the part of Mysoreans than the noble ideals which have inspired the work of the Mythic Society during the last two decades. I endorse the appeal of the Committee to the members to strive their utmost to bring in more members.

I am glad to note that the Society has always been sensible of the encouragement it has been receiving since its inception from His Highness's Government. The interest evinced by His Highness the Maharaja in this institution is so well-known and His Highness' Government have not only given financial aid but also helped the Society with books and journals of antiquarian interest and also have shown practical interest in its progress in other ways as well. The request contained in the Secretary's Report regarding the restoration of the cut in the grant made by Government will receive due consideration from Government.

One of the avowed objects of the Mythic Society is to make Mysore—its hoary past—better known not only to India but throught the British Empire and the whole world. It is, therefore, gratifying to note that the *Quarterly Journal of the Mythic Society* occupies a prominent place among the periodicals of the world devoted to antiquarian study and research and that it finds eager readers at almost every important centre of intellectual activity. But, to my mind, to make Mysoreans know and understand Mysore better, as Sir Mirza Ismail reminded us in his lucid and suggestive speech on the auspicious occasion of the Silver Jubilee of the Mythic Society, is perhaps as important as to make the outside world know Mysore, and to this task the Mythic Society may, I think, equally address itself. The Society, as has latterly been suggested of the Universities, should endeavour to carry its learning to the doors of the people, especially those in the mofussil, if they are at all to benefit by its researches and if its activities are to make a wider appeal and to evoke a more enthusiastic public support. I think this is an aspect of the problem which deserves your consideration.

I need hardly tell you that much of what the Society has been able to achieve is due to the inspiring guidance of your President, Rao Bahadur Rajakaryaprasakta M. Shama Rao, a worthy successor to the late Father Tabard. His faith in the future of the Mythic Society is immense and I trust he will long be spared to guide our activities.

In conclusion, it only remains for me to associate myself heartily with the wishes of the members of the Mythic Society, to which such felicitous expression is given in the report, for a happy and pleasant sojourn of His Highness the Maharaja, the distinguished Patron of the Society, in Europe and a safe return to his State.

* * *

The Meeting terminated with a vote of thanks to the distinguished guest of the evening, proposed by Rev. Father Browne and three cheers to His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore.

## THE MYTHIC

*Statement of Receipts and*

| Receipts | Amount Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Opening Balance .. .. .. .. .. | 119 | 5 | 4 |
| 2. Subscription .. .. .. .. .. | 397 | 4 | 0 |
| 3. Grants— | | | |
| Government of Mysore .. .. .. .. | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| Government of India .. .. .. .. | 300 | 0 | 0 |
| 4. Interest and Dividends .. .. .. .. | 484 | 2 | 0 |
| 5. Hall Charges .. .. .. .. .. | 36 | 0 | 0 |
| 6. Recoveries from Staff .. .. .. .. | 102 | 0 | 0 |
| 7. Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. .. | 7 | 8 | 0 |
| TOTAL .. | 2,946 | 3 | 4 |

Reserve Fund—

| | All at face value Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. Mysore State Loan 4% Stock .. .. .. | 9,800 | 0 | 0 |
| 2. Mysore State Loan 6¾% Bonds .. .. .. | 250 | 0 | 0 |
| 3. Mysore State Loan 5% Stock .. .. .. | 1,500 | 0 | 0 |
| 4. Mysore Bank Share—one .. .. .. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. Fixed Deposit in Mysore Bank .. .. .. | 100 | 0 | 0 |
| TOTAL .. | 11,750 | 0 | 0 |

BANGALORE CITY,
*August 6, 1936.*

## SOCIETY, BANGALORE

*Expenditure for 1935—36*

| Payments | Amount | | |
|---|---|---|---|
| | Rs. | A. | P. |
| 1. Establishment— | | | |
| Pay of Staff .. .. .. .. .. | 1,094 | 0 | 0 |
| Lighting Charges .. .. .. .. .. | 198 | 0 | 0 |
| Servants' Livery .. .. .. .. .. | 15 | 0 | 0 |
| Premises .. .. .. .. .. | 54 | 10 | 6 |
| Garden .. .. .. .. .. | 54 | 2 | 0 |
| Bicycle Account .. .. .. .. .. | 19 | 14 | 0 |
| Electrical & Sundries .. .. .. .. | 62 | 6 | 0 |
| 2. Journal— | | | |
| Printing .. .. .. .. .. | 500 | 0 | 0 |
| Postage .. .. .. .. .. | 217 | 9 | 0 |
| 3. Library— | | | |
| Books purchased .. .. .. .. .. | 22 | 14 | 0 |
| Book-binding .. .. .. .. .. | 56 | 8 | 0 |
| Subscription to Newspapers.. .. .. .. | 68 | 5 | 0 |
| Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. .. | 26 | 4 | 0 |
| 4. Advance to Staff .. .. .. .. .. | 312 | 0 | 0 |
| 5. Bank's charges .. .. .. .. .. | 1 | 15 | 0 |
| 6. Stationery .. .. .. .. .. .. | 26 | 5 | 0 |
| 7. Miscellaneous .. .. .. .. .. | 68 | 8 | 0 |
| 8. Closing Balance .. .. .. .. .. | 147 | 14 | 10 |
| TOTAL .. | 2,946 | 3 | 4 |

Details of Closing Balance—

| | Rs. | A. | P. |
|---|---|---|---|
| 1. In the Bank of Mysore .. .. .. .. | 136 | 14 | 4 |
| 2. With the Curator .. .. .. .. | 1 | 10 | 4 |
| 3. With the Branch Secretaries .. .. ... .. | 9 | 6 | 2 |
| TOTAL .. | 147 | 14 | 10 |

Certified correct.
T. M. S. SUBRAMANIAM,
*Hony. Auditor.*

S. SRIKANTAYA,
*Secretary & Treasurer,*
*Mythic Society.*

# REVIEWS

## Gītā Rahasya or the Science of Karma Yoga

BY B. G. TILAK

(*Vol. I. Tilak Bros., Poona. Price Rs.* 6)

THE *Gītā Rahasya* originally appeared in Marathi so far back as June 1915 and was translated into six other Indian vernaculars from time to time. The author, the late Bal Gangadhar Tilak, having died without publishing an Engilsh translation of it, his sons have undertaken this task. It is much to be regretted that we have not before us an English version of the work as the author would have it presented to us but the present translators have done their best to give us a rendering worthy of their father and his great and universal reputation as a scholar and have fittingly dedicated it to the memory of the departed.

Bal Gangadhar Tilak was a foremost political thinker in the India of his time and by his works (1) *The Arctic Home in the Vedas*, (2) *The Orion or Researches into the Antiquity of the Vedas* and (3) *The Vedic Chronology and the Vedānga Jyotiṣa* (all in English) achieved an international reputation for his scholarship. The *Bhagavad Gītā* is a mirror reflecting clearly untarnished ideas from every point of view and the universality of its appeal is well-known. In it, the materialist finds a code of daily life and conduct ; for the philosopher, there is a guide to the knowledge of self ; to the man of affairs, the path of action is laid bare ; while to the devotionally inclined is clear the path of adoration till he merges himself into the Supreme. And if, to-day as through the ages, the *Gītā* is studied from diverse points of view, it is due to the insight of the author of the *Gītā* into the functions of human mind which is so just, so profound and so true to human experience.

The *Gītā* takes the form of a dialogue between Śrī Kṛṣṇa and Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra and Kṛṣṇa compels Arjuna to perform his duties as became a Kṣatriya by getting

over the *Śoka* and *Moha* in which he is enveloped on seeing his relations arraigned in the battlefield against him. As Gandhiji observes: "The *Gītā* inculcates the duty of perseverance in the face of seeming failure. It teaches us that we have a right to actions only but not to the fruits thereof and that success and failure are one and the same thing at bottom." And the *Gītā Rahasya* of Tilak, he said, would be a lasting monument to his memory, serving the attainment of Indian Swaraj and reminding posterity of his spotless character and purity of life. For, his masterly commentary is unsurpassed and is the result of a most elaborate research in the questions arising from the *Gītā* and Vedas.

Tilak was led to a study of the *Gītā* quite early in life and he tried to see if it contained all the principles and philosophy of the Hindu religion. He had no pet theories of his own when he started its study and after a complete study of the eighteen chapters of the work and various commentaries thereon, the conclusion he arrived at was that the *Gītā* advocated the performance of action in this world even after the actor had achieved the highest union with the Supreme by *Jnāna* or *Bhakti*. This action must be done to keep the world going by the right path of evolution which the Creator has destined the world to follow. In order that the action may not bind the actor, it must be done with the aim of helping his purpose and without any attachment to the coming result. In this view, he differs from the previous bhāṣyakāras on the *Gītā*. *Karma Yoga* is an ancient and sacred heritage from time immemorial and the law of duty is the combination of all that is best in spiritual science, in the actual action and in an unselfish meditative life. God does not help the indolent and you have to toil and lift yourself up to reap the fruits of labour, to gain His support in right conduct.

It is remarkable that the entire work in the original should have occupied only 108 days in jail. In reviewing some other works on *Bhagavad Gītā*, I have said that Tilak takes up the historical side of the *Gītā* and offers valuable comments on the date of the *Gītā* and it also looks as if he considers the

teachings as a discourse on *Karma Yoga*, pure and simple, in the sense that "England expects every man to do his duty." (*Q. J. M. S.*, Vol. 19, p. 159.) It will be observed from the foregoing also that according to Tilak : "It is only given to us to toil and work. And so, there ought to be no relaxation in our efforts, lest we incur the curse of those that come after us. Action alone must be our guiding principle, action disinterested and well thought-out....*Karma Yoga* is nothing but the method which leads to the attainment of *Dharma* or material and spiritual glory." This work of a practical Vedāntin presented to the world in the English language for the first time cannot but be of invaluable aid in solving the problems besetting it.

Certain criticisms on this view of the *Gītā* may be adverted to. Tilak takes it for granted that the message of the *Gītā* was delivered at the battlefield of Kurukṣetra. But great savants express a doubt regarding the place and the author of the message and the person to whom it was given. Tilak then takes into account the introductory and concluding portions of the *Gītā* and assuming it to be an incentive to Arjuna for action, he concludes that the *Gītā* was a message on *Karma Yoga*, relying for this view on the Mimāṃsa rule which enjoins the consideration of the introduction, conclusion and purport of a book in its exposition. From the *Gītā* itself, however, if one forgets for the time that it was addressed to Arjuna on the battlefield of Kurukṣetra, it cannot be said that it expounds any particular system of philosophy. The *Gītā* has been regarded as one of the three *granthas* (*Prasthāna trayī*) which deals with Indian philosophy as such in the same manner as the Upaniṣads and the Brahmasūtras which, with the *Gītā*, together form the *Prasthāna trayī*. This view is further sought to be strengthened by the fact that the three great *ācāryas* have deemed it necessary to comment on the *Gītā* in support of their different systems of philosophy. If much emphasis has not been laid on the *bhakti* and *jnāna mārgas* by the author of the *Gītā* it is because Arjuna was only an *adhikāri* for *Karma* according to Śankara, assuming that the message was to him. It must

nevertheless, be conceded that for the view taken by Tilak there is ample material though it might be permissible to suggest that it is not the only or proper view. The book under review is a brilliant and most valuable contribution on the Karma path which the *ācāryas* regard as a most valuable means (*sādhana*) to salvation.

S. S.

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### The Siddhāntaleśasaṅgraha of Appayya Dīkṣita—Vol. I

EDITED AND TRANSLATED BY S. S. SURYANARAYANA SASTRI
(*University of Madras. Publication of the Department of Indian Philosophy. No.* 4. *Price Rs.* 5)

THIS is an English translation of one of the earliest works of Appayya Dikṣita—the *Siddānthaleśasaṅgraha*. Of the four chapters comprising the volume, the first deals with the nature of injunctions in hearing or studying Vedānta; the second discusses how Vedāntins can have non-duality for purport; the third asserts that knowledge is the sole path to the attainment of Brahman and that Karma is only useful indirectly and the fourth points out that the persistent trace of nescience is an element of the projective energy of primal nescience. The analytic Table of Contents is of great help in the study of the book.

N. I.

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### Kapilar

BY V. VENKATARAJULU REDDIAR
(*Madras University Tamil Series, No.* 5. *Price Rs.* 2)

THIS is a critical account in Tamil of the life and writings of Kapilar, the later of the two poets of that name in the Tamil Nad. The earlier is known as Tol Kapilar in contradistinction to the later. The book is invaluable to students of Tamil literature.

K. N.

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## The Mahābhārata

(Southern Recension)

*Vols. XIII and XIV—Śānti-Parvan—Part I*

*Vol. XVII—Anuśāsana-Parvan—Part II*

(*Published by V. Ramaswamy Sastrulu & Sons, Madras*)

THE Śānti Parvan has been divided by the learned Editor P. P. S. Sastri, Professor of Sanskrit, Presidency College, Madras, into six sub-parvans, *i.e.*, Ābhiṣecanika, Cārvājanigraha, Gṛhapravibhāga, Rājadharma, Āpaddharma and Mokṣadharma.

These are the first and second of the three volumes in which the Śānti-Parvan is proposed to be issued. All manuscripts representative of the Southern Recension have been utilised in their preparation. The first volume deals with chapters 1–120 and the second with chapters 121–260.

The volume under review completes the Anuśāsana-Parvan. It is possible, as regards this parvan, to mark the text clearly as Southern or Northern according as it has or omits particular chapters and incidents and the Editor has given, in his introduction, a view of the more important distinctive features of the Southern Recension. K. N.

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## A Critique of Difference

(*University of Madras. Bulletins of the Department of Indian Philosophy, No.* 2)

THIS is a free rendering in English by Mr. S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri of *Bhedadhikāra* of Nṛsimhāśramin and an interesting introduction has been contributed by Mr. T. M. P. Mahadevan, Research Student.

Nṛsimhāśramin was a pupil of Gīrvāṇendra Sarasvatī and Jagannāthāśramin and wrote many works such as *Advaita Dīpika*, *Advaita-Panca*, etc. Through a systematic criticism (*dhikkāra*) of difference (*bhēda*), the author has well established the doctrine of Advaita, namely, that Jīva which is of the nature of reality (*sat*), knowledge (*cit*) and happiness (*ānanda*) is non-different from Brahman.

Students of Advaita will find the book very helpful.

N. I.

## Tarka Tāṇḍava

EDITED BY D. SRINIVASACHAR, V. MADHVACHAR AND A. VYASACHAR

(*University of Mysore. Oriental Library Publications. Sanskrit Series, No. 77. Price Rs. 2*)

THIS is the second volume of Śrī Vyāsa Tīrtha's *Tarka Tāndava* with the commentary—*Nyāyadīpa*—of Śrī Rāghavendra Tīrtha. It deals with Âkānkṣā-vāda, Âsatti-vāda, Yogyatā-vāda, Śakti-vāda, Jāti-vāda and Vidhi-vāda, subjects of immense importance to students of Indian Philosophy.

N. I.

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## Studies in Dravidian Philology

BY K. RADHAKRISHNIAH, M.A.

(*University of Madras. Oriental Research Institute, Telugu Departmental Publications, No. 4. Rs. 4*)

ABOUT the middle of the nineteenth century, the Rev. Dr. Caldwell laid the foundations of Dravidian philology by his *Comparative Dravidian Grammar.* The work under review carries on the comparative study of the Dravidian languages from where Dr. Caldwell left it and makes an elaborate investigation into the nature and development of Dravidian inflexion. With the help of this and a study of the common root-material, has been formulated the theory of the root-agglutination which enables us to trace the line of development of individual languages of this group from the primitive root-stage to the present semi-inflexional condition.

The book is of great help to students of Dravidian Philology. Its letterpress and get-up leave nothing to be desired. The Appendix, giving common root-material, and the Index enhance the value of the publication.

K. N.

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## The Sānkyhakārikā of Īśvara Kṛṣṇa

Edited and Translated by S. S. Suryanarayana Sastri
(*University of Madras*, 1935. *Publications of the Department of Indian Philosophy*, *No.* 3. *Price Rs.* 2)

In this, the second edition of the work, the defects of the earlier edition have been remedied and some further information has been given based on a recent unpublished commentary—the *Sānkhyataru-vasantaḥ* by Muḍumba Nṛsimhasvāmin. This commentator believes that there is no radical divergence between the Sānkhya and Vedānta. The elaborate Introduction and the Verse Index add to the usefulness of the book.

N. I.

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## Tattvabindu

(*Annamalai University. Sanskrit Series*, *No.* 3. *Price Rs.* 3)

This edition of Vācaspatimiśra's *Tattvabindu* has been based on the full text quoted by Parameśvara II in his commentary *Tattvavibhāvanā*, a manuscript preserved in the Madras Government Oriental Manuscripts Library. The *lacunæ* in the text have been filled up with the help of the printed Benares Edition of *Tattvabindu*.

The text is short and difficult. The author reviews therin the doctrine of sphoṭa as expounded by Bhartṛhari and Maṇḍanamiśra and re-affirms Kumārila's criticism of the doctrine. The commentary of *Tattvavibhāvanā*, incorporated in this edition, is lucid and helpful in understanding the text.

The Editor, Mr. Ramaswami Sastri of the Annamalai University, deserves to be congratulated on this scholarly contribution. The learned Introduction to the Mīmāmsa literature and the elaborate analysis of the text in English greatly enhance the value of the book.

N. I.

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## The Great Temple at Tanjore

BY J. M. SOMASUNDARAM, M.A.

(*Printed by Solden & Co., Madras. Price Re.* 1)

ŚRĪ BṚHADĪSVARA TEMPLE of Tanjore was erected by Rājarāja the Great (985–1014 A.D.) and is still in excellent preservation. It remains the most magnificent monument of the power and ability of the early Cōḷas.

The author has, in this booklet, given the chief historical and traditional points of interest relating to the temple. The work deserves a study by all who desire to know something about Tanjore.

K. N.

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## Archæological Survey of Mysore Annual Report for 1933

(*Government Press, Bangalore.*)

WE congratulate Dr. Krishna on another year's successful work. During 1933, the attention of the Department was focussed on the study of Cālukyan architecture. The Sringeri inscriptions were examined in detail and much useful information was added to the notes given us by Mr. Narasimacharya in 1916. A study of Chikupadya's *Padma Purāṇa* in Kannada and Timmarasa's *Navarasa Alankāra* was undertaken.

Under the study of ancient monuments, Dr. Krishna has given us an account of several beautiful structures of the Hoysala art and we are grateful to him for the additional information vouchsafed to us. We should like to know, however, whether a sense of the beautiful, taste for art, military necessities, religious zeal, or whatever else it was that was responsible for the stupendous outlay on these most beautiful shrines studded all over the Hoysala country. Mythology, scenes from the Rāmāyaṇa, the Mahābhārata and Bhāgavata, exquisite floral designs, battle scenes, court scenes, as well as dancing poses, pictures drawn from life and nude and obscene figures are all found portrayed on these walls. The workmanship is of the highest class. One would long to know

the development of the Hoysala art from the dim beginnings of the ancient shrines at Kuppatur to the magnificent gems and masterpieces to be found at Somanāthapūr and elsewhere. It is a great pity that no monograph on Hoysala architecture has yet been able to enlighten us on a proper perspective concerning the origin, growth and decay of the Hoysala art. Excellent and minute descriptions are available, designs are expounded, history and dates of temples are given ; but we are yet in the dark how far these temples, apart from being places of worship, provided any useful guidance, instruction and social amenities in the daily life of the people. Names of architects are given in many cases and it ought to be now possible to classify the images carved by a particular sculptor and find out whether the name given on the pedestal of the image is a family name, a surname or the name of the same individual throughout. It is difficult to believe that the same craftsmen lived for generations exhibiting the same skill and dexterity in workmanship. Regarding the repairs to temples, it is no use wasting public funds over very small temples, as important ones must be preserved at all cost. Minor ones must give room for types and designs and architectural specimens should be collected under particular groups in a museum. With the numerous structures we have, belonging to many a type and variety of design in good condition, unless new things turn up, no useful purpose will be served by trying to preserve all long-forgotten shrines. The cost will be prohibitive, no fresh advantage gained and no worshippers attracted to the shrine. Whether it is necessary to secure the neighbouring houses and put up a compound wall for the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple at Hosahoḷalu must be viewed from these view-points. No watchman on either rupees two or five could be expected to remove carefully chunam and wax from the delicate sculptures on temple walls which must be done by skilled people.

Dr. Krishna refers to Gaṅga features in the Lakṣmīnarasimha temple at Hole-Narsipur. What these features are we are unable to find. For, in the fourteenth century, the

Hoysala structures were at the zenith of their immaculate splendour and more than two centuries had elapsed after the overthrow of the Gaṅgas by the Hoysalas and their defeat under Rāja Rāja the Cōḷa King. Even in the days of Gaṅga greatness, it is difficult to trace any distinguishing Gaṅga features in the architecture of the country as we could regarding the Hoysala, the Cālukya, the Cōḷa or the Pallava.

Concentric Śrī Cakrās are said to be traced in some of the ceilings. We wish a description of the type is given in the next report. But, looking at the plates given facing page 66, etc., it is difficult to believe that it is a Śrī Cakra. It is probably some mathematical diagram like those with which we are familiar in the Cālukyan and Hoysala temples. The temple at Hullekere is raised on a floating foundation without a platform and here, as in many other places, names of images are given. We are sorry to hear a Hoysala inscription in the Lakṣmīnārāyaṇa temple at Belavadi was damaged recently. It is hoped, however, that a copy of this inscription has already been made and included in the inscriptions of the Kadur District. Plate 19, No. 4, is an image in the temple said to be of Dhyāni Buddha without Uṣṇīṣa. We are obliged to Dr. Krishna for a further and fresh study of the Lakṣmī Devī temple at Doddagaddavalli. This temple is now found by inscriptional evidence to have been constructed in 1113. It is unfortunate that the *betāḷa* figures referred to on page 95 have not been given in plate, probably owing to the delicacy of publishing obscene figures. On page 96 referring to the Lakṣmī image, Dr. Krishna considers it to be an image of the fourteenth century and not of the early twelfth as it has the appearance of crude Hoysala workmanship. Probably, he means that the art had decayed in the fourteenth century! For this, we are constrained to observe there is no warrant. Neatness in execution depends more on the particular workman engaged and the place where the work is undertaken. During the same period of time in all villages and in all countries it is not unusual to find wealth and decay, splendour and rags, exquisite workmanship and crude craft.

The Śiva Yogi in the Vīra Bhadra temple at Halebid is a very arresting figure. Every sign of royalty as well as of great intellectual mysticism is observable in this great natural pose of the yogi. Under "Numismatics", Dr. Krishna continues his study of the old coins which adds to our information.

The Koramaṅga plates are curiously found in Chitaldurg and perhaps referable to some village in those parts. Samaṇa and Āśandi must have been in the neighbourhood of Koramaṅga but Koramaṅga could not be Koramaṅgala of the Hassan District. If Unchha be a gleaning tax, samādhi may be a burial incidence. The Sringeri records establish the greatness of Vidyā Śankara, and of Vidyāraṇya and the contributions of the Sringeri Mutt in the establishment of the Vijayanagara Empire. We cannot accept the view that Vidyāraṇya and Bhārati Tīrtha were brothers holding as we do that Vidyāraṇya was Mādhava. The basis for the tradition of Vidyāraṇya's death at Hampe being a later invention is not given. Again, that there was a later Vidyāraṇya at or about the period who might have died at Hampe about 1386 does not appear nor can we say that the Vidyāraṇya of the sixteenth century could be the Vidyāraṇya referred to as having died at Hampe. Number thirty-eight is one of the earliest inscriptions of the Gaṅga Kings. The arrangement of inscriptions according to dynasties and dates is very useful and we look forward with eager interest to the succeeding volumes in the series.

S. S.

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### The Mysore University English-Kannada Dictionary

PROFESSOR VENKATANARANAPPA and his co-adjutors as well as the Mysore University and the Government deserve our heartiest thanks on being able to publish the first instalment of an English-Kannada dictionary. We have got Kittel's Kannada-English Dictionary but there has been no standard dictionary for a long time, and it has taken over fifteen years to bring out an instalment of a comprehensive one. The pattern has been the Concise Oxford Dictionary and we hope that, as

far as possible, no word has been omitted in its compilation. We have not, so far, been able to see any omission. A dictionary of this kind is not possible even once in a generation and when we are at it, it is our duty to do it thoroughly and we have no doubt that the Committee will spare no pains and we have every belief that any support, financial or other, will not be denied to the Committee in the accomplishment of this gigantic work which they have, fortunately for us, undertaken.

S. S.

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## Words of Wisdom

BY SWAMI RAJESWARANAND

(*Published by Adhyatma Prakasa Karyalaya, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City. Superior Edition 2s. or Re.* 1–6–0)

WE welcome the entry of the Adhyatma Prakasa Karyalaya as publishers of works in English. Their object is to stimulate the study of philosophy and religion in its universal aspect and *The Words of Wisdom* happens to be their first English publication. The author Swami Rajeswaranand, the President of the Sacchidananda Sangha, Madras, is also familiar to us as the author of *Know Thyself; Life, Light and Love; Revelations; Flashes of Peace* and *Athma Sudha*, works full of meaning, fresh, spontaneous, forceful, beautiful and illuminating in bringing us into contact with divine grace in many a form. The work before us, culled from the author's diary, presents different angles of vision in different garbs. Truth is like a torch and is ever burning and it transcends expression. In the book there are no provincialisms, blind dogmas, meaningless superstitions, cramping codes or tarnished traditions. The one universal principle inculcated in these sayings is not confined to time or space but shines in pristine glory and serene splendour, lifting us to the sun-lit height of truth, wisdom and bliss. We are asked not to disgrace our culture, prostitute our intelligence, smother our conscience and lose ourselves, yielding to the unwholesome influences of the world. Considerations and material ideas are not to be allowed to dim our vision

of a higher, nobler and more intellectual life. Manifestation of the highest truth imparts immortality in this very life. We ought to discover a rational basis for the purpose of life on earth. Abandon, therefore, scepticism; reason and emotion should march hand in hand and where reason ends, intuition transcends reason and emotion. Character is the end and aim of true education and erudition can only be used as an aim for the discovery of truth. Vedānta offers a clue to the attainment of the highest end for the eager soul. It is the science of observation, revealing life through many a disguise and through the state of consciousness. It transcends time, space and causation. We look before and after and pine for what is not: our sweetest songs are those that tell of saddest thoughts. Life is not a pastime or a punishment: it is an art as well as a science and life is short and fleeting. Therefore, while we yet live we must discipline ourselves and by our devotion, prayer, intelligence and mysticism realise ourselves and be absorbed in the Supreme: discriminate, maintain the proper balance in life and be each for all and all for each: prepare our life not only for the short sunny days and quiet starry nights but for flood, the storm and the tempest. Faith let there be, dynamic and constructive, leading us all to self-realisation. Let us have the body of Muhammad, the brain of Śankara, the heart of Buddha, the sincerity of Zoroaster, the forgiveness of Jesus, the beautifulness of Rāma, the devotion of Chaitanya, the tranquillity of Kṛṣṇa, the eloquence of Paul, the vision of Vivēkānanda, the zeal of Dayānanda, the cosmopolitanism of Rām Mohan Roy, the spirit of Nānak, the non-violence of Gandhiji, the divine recklessness of Rāma Tīrtha and the universal religious harmony and realisation of Rāmakrishna.

S. S.

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**The Human Soul in the Myths of Plato**

(*The Shrine of Wisdom, London. 3s. Nett*)

PLATO is one of the greatest masters of the art of myth-making and deliberately employs myth and allegory in his Dialogues for

imparting the knowledge of the deeper mysteries of life. We must, therefore, beware of interpreting the myths of Plato too literally; for their real meaning lies far deeper than the surface. The present manual deals with some of the conceptions which Plato mystically reveals in his Dialogues concerning the human soul. The soul is a principle so highly abstract and paradoxical that it cannot be described fully by finite and concrete language.

Plato makes use of symbols and images in order to lead the consciousness upwards to the reality behind them. His expositions are perfectly consistent not only with the rest of his philosophy but with the basic teachings of Egyptian, Chaldean, Orphic and Pythagorean systems. As in the case of the other publications of this notable series, the editors have spared no pains in collecting and expounding all the materials available on the topic in question.

S. S.

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## The Bowl of Saki

BY HAZRAT INAYAT KHAN

THE author is a notable contributor to the League of Nations and in the work under review he has quoted thoughts for daily contemplation from the sayings and teachings of Pir-O-Murshid. As Abul Fazil says "Orthodoxy to the orthodox and heresy to the heretic, but the dust of the rose petal belongs to the heart of the perfume seller.'' January 3, truth without the veil is always un-interesting to the human mind and, on the 7th of January, the knowledge appears for the mystic as they appear to leave; likewise, on the 10th, the Idol is beyond explanation. To analyse God is to dethrone him and, for the 12th, peace is perfected activity and that is perfected which is complete in all its aspects, balanced in the direction, and under the complete control of the will. God transcends all virtues and a man's inclination is the root of the tree of his life. It is such an excellent collection we are reviewing and there is no time or space to refer in detail to the extracts given to in the

book. For the date under review, October 16th, we find by loving, forgiving and serving it is possible for your whole life to become one single vision of the sublime beauty of God. Truth, however, lies in the sharing of joy and that with another and happiness lies in saying or doing that one considers beautiful and, in both cases, the author has allowed us to share our happiness with him.

S. S.

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### Studies in the History of the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara

By M. Venkata Ramanayya, M.A., Ph.D.

(*University of Madras*, 1935. *Price Rs.* 5 *or* 7 *sh.* 6*d.*)

In this work, the author deals with the principal events in the history of Vijayanagara beginning from 1529, the system of administration in the sixteenth century and the religious and social conditions of the period. He has drawn from the inscriptions and from the material available in the Mackenzie manuscripts and the chronicles of ambassadors, historians and visitors to the heart of the Empire. To the ordinary investigator, many of the inscriptions and most of the manuscripts are unavailable and students of Vijayanagara history are under a great obligation to the author who has placed not merely his views gleaned from those but has published relevant portions of the inscriptions, the MSS., and the chronicles on which his conclusions are based. *Acyutarāyābhyudayam* is regarded as a first-rate historical document, illuminating one of the darkest recesses of Vijayanagara history. In 1535, the Vijayanagara army invaded Bijapur territory and laid siege to the fortress of Raicur. Adilshah who came to meet the rāya was forced to sue for peace, this view being accepted by De Barros. The Muhammadan historians, however, do not refer to it. Dr. Venkataramanayya considers Ferishta to be a most important but least trustworthy guide among Muhammadan writers and Shirazi as the most impartial.

The administrative system of the old Emperors remained almost in tact in certain parts of the country where the subordinates of the last Vijayanagara Emperors asserted their independence and the village administration was least affected by the passage of time and the changes in the government. The Emperor was the supreme head of the State but this absolutism was restricted by the Dharma Śāstras and the custom of the country. Rebellion against the State did not find popular support. Tyranny of the government was sometimes met and got over by evacuation by ryots of the territory. One of the seven members of the State was the minister and the assembly of the King comprised the Amar Nāyakas and other representatives, Chiefs of subordinate states, Princes, Dalvays, Merchants, Foreign Ambassadors, Pandits, Poets, Philosophers, Theologians and Court Officers. But to transact business, there was a more compact body consisting of the ministers and successful generals in the Vijayanagara army. Council meetings were secret. The secretariat is mentioned; Military organisations and *Kandācāra* departments were in a very efficient condition. For purposes of administration, the Empire was subdivided into provinces ruled over by governers and others appointed by the Emperor on the one hand, and tributary principalities and conquered countries presided over by feudatory princes on the other. The internal administration continued as of yore, while certain changes were introduced for the better management of the vast territory of the Emperor. The political divisions of *Nāḍu*, *Rājya* and so on have been well described in the book under review. The administration of justice was guided from legal treatises of Vidyāraṇya supplemented by modifications introduced to meet the changing needs of the time. The judge was the representative of the King and no cognizance could be taken of a case which either the parties or the specified officers of the government had not placed before him, but in criminal cases there was no such necessity to await a complaint; and in civil cases the parties could appear through a representative or counsel to place his case before the court. Trade and commerce flourished and

guilds had a certain vogue. With the changing vicissitudes of the time and varying influences of the day, the rulers changed their religion but this change was not allowed to interfere with the religious beliefs of the people in the State. The *maṭhas* catered to the intellectual needs of the community. The temples were meeting places for all and sundry. Women were not regarded as equals to men, but as being intended for their pleasure. The social life of the time, judging from the accounts of contemporary writers, would look as full of conviviality and polygamy. We have to remember that a great deal of what is recorded relates to the courtesans and women of the harem of the Rāja. Family women did not participate in public functions and, as such, the morality of the time should not be judged from the gaity depicted by chroniclers. Concerning literature and art, the reign of Krishna Dēva Rāya marks the dawn of a new era in the literary history of India. Himself a man of considerable learning, he encouraged learning for its own sake. Art and architecture flourished and no visitor to the ruins of Hampe could fail to be affected by the delicacy of the workmanship exhibited in the temples there. We congratulate the author on the account which he has given us relating to the Third Dynasty of Vijayanagara.

S. S.

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## The Light of Iran

BY D. M. GORWALLA

(*The Satya Mitra Press*, *Bombay*, 1935)

THIS small booklet of thirty pages narrates in forty-eight verses the life of Zarathushtra, the Prophet of the Parsis, from his birth to the time he was proclaimed the first Athravan. The glossary of proper names is a useful appendix.

R. H.

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## Origin and Early History of Śaivism in South India

By C. V. Narayana Ayyar

(*Madras University Historical Series, No. 6, 1936*
*Price Rs. 5 or 10 sh.*)

This book is the result of the researches carried on by the author as a Fellow of the Department of History during the years 1928–29 under the guidance of Dr. S. Krishnaswami Aiyangar. Beginning with an account of the Vedic origins of Śaivism, the book under review traces its spread in South India and gives its early history up to the first half of the eighth century A.D. The book will be welcomed as a connected history of Tamil Śaivism.

R. H.

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## The Origin of the Indo-European Races and Peoples

By V. Chockalingam Pillai

Vol. I

(*The Palamcottah Printing Press. Rs. 25 or 2 Guineas*)

This volume was presented to His Majesty King George V as a Souvenir on the occasion of his Silver Jubilee on 6th May 1935. The author has projected a work of five volumes dealing with the knotty problem of the Indo-European Phenomenon, of which the present is the first comprising ten parts running into over 900 pages. The superior claim of the Aryan in India in the social hierarchy has, all along, been challenged by the Tamils, as discoverable even in the Sangham literature. Educated India itself appeared to have accepted the Aryan claim till recently but the Dravidians laboured hard to establish certain well-marked differences and their efforts were attended with a measure of success. They pointed out two elements in the Indian civilisation, with clear differences, the Dravidian being equal, if not superior, to the Aryan. To solve the puzzle in the racial status of the Aryan and the Dravidian, the author turned to ethnology, anthropology, philology and history and other sciences without material results. He then

turned to the epos or the unrecorded history of man. Finding the Dravidian as the oldest man in the land, the author has discovered, from the study of traditional history, that the incidents narrated in the Velan epic is the all-absorbing topic of the Dravidian people. He has further subjected to close scrutiny the Aryan Ṛg Veda. A comparative study of these has revealed to him that while the Velan epic related to a single episode in the past history of the two races, the Ṛg Veda added many more incidents connected with the Aryans with elaborate detail. In order to interpret this latter class of incidents, a study of the works of western scholars in the field of Indo-European phenomenon brought out that the Aryan was born and bred in the steppes of European Russia, migrating and radiating eastwards through Asia into India and that the Aryan was a near brother of the Latin, the Greek and the Iranian and a distant cousin of the Celt, the Teuton, the Vend and the Lett. Further study was made of the two epos by the author with fruitful results. The Indo-European races comprised two hostile elements with their native home in the long-lost Atlanta or Gondwana Continent in the Indian Ocean whence they migrated north and east. After a study of these world problems for a period extending to two geneartions, the author has propounded his views and we congratulate him most heartily on the patient industry, earnestness, zeal and extraordinary perseverance which he has brought to bear on his life's work.

After presenting us a bird's-eye-view of the Indo-European problem, the author deals in Part I with the life-history of the Indo-European progenitors from the earliest ages down to 4500 B.C. In the succeeding parts, the epos of the Indo-Europeans—the Celt, the Teuton, the Vend, the Lett, the Latin, the Greek, the Iranian and the Aryan—is dealt with. Thereafter is undertaken a comparative study of the two sets of epos along with an examination of some of the principal characteristics of the two races. The alien factors intruding into the drama of this world history are next considered and legend and tradition as also the history of the Snake and the

Caucasic Ox are herein studied. The stage is now set for expounding the subsequent history of the Indo-European flock. The author regards the study of the Indo-European ethnology and anthropology as still in an experimental stage. Risley's conclusions have been found unsatisfactory and Guha enables us to visualise an India not altogether isolated from the rest of Asia in the days prior to the Aryan occupation of India. Recent discoveries at Mohenjo-daro and Harappa and elsewhere in the Indus Valley further appear to suggest that India was in the occupation of a long-headed race with high cranial vault, long face and narrow prominent nose side by side with another very powerfully built race also long-headed, but with lower cranial vault, and equally long-faced and narrow-nosed, though perhaps not so high-pitched as the former. There was, perhaps, still another type with broader head and apparently Armenoid affinities. Besides, there are other factors. (*Cf. Q. J. M. S.*, XXVI, pp. 284–86 and *Census of India*, Vol. I, Part III.) Ales Hrdlicka dealing with Melanesians and Australians peopling America, considers the hypothesis as not demonstrable, nor even probable, not even that of the recognisable Polynesian presence on the American Continent. For the dolicho-steno-hypsi-cephalic cranium is not extraneous but represents one of the several cranial types of both the American-Indian and the Eskimo. Cultural or other resemblances may possibly be explained in other ways than by a material accession by migration. Exaggerated values cannot, therefore, be given to cranial features and inferences drawn therefrom. Even linguistic and cultural similarities may prove deceptive. To what extent the Somatic facts which are said very closely to harmonise with the cultural facts and the primeval economic system which binds the race to its natural food area and to the primeval economic units may be regarded as complementary is a debatable point. Changes in the natural environment may bring about corresponding changes in the distribution, even in the composition of the race. A study *per se* of the distribution of the population and the discovery of the presence of race types may not, therefore, lead to any definite results.

The problem is baffling and complex. In the result, the author finding the tests laid by ethnology, anthropology and philology as defective on a detailed examination, starts a new line of research. According to him, the key to the solution lies in the Tamil land.

The Indo-European progenitors are said to represent the highest order of mankind, belonging to the two races, the Velans and the Sūrans, with their home in the last surviving moiety of the human cradle known to geologists as the Gondwana Continent. A great battle known as the Velo-Sūran War was fought there during the closing scenes of their life in the cradle about 6000 B.C. and sometime afterwards, the cradle was sunk about 5500 B.C. and the people migrated to other parts. The Sūrans first entered India but very soon travelled on through the then western coast land, past Baluchistan and Persia into Russia, without leaving any traces behind in India itself. The Velans who followed them behaved differently, a large number of them settled in India and the rest of the flock proceeded to Europe about 4500 B.C. The Indian settlers have given us the Velan Epic. The Velans and the Sūrans were not a peaceful people and their wars occupied another 2,000 years. The Latins, the Greeks, the Iranians and the Aryans belong to the Sūran flock who ran away unable to bear the blows of their rivals the Velans who are represented by the Celt, the Teuton, the Vend and the Lett. In this process of migration, the two stocks who originally settled in Russia radiated to different parts of Europe and Asia. That purity of blood which was maintained in the original cradle of the race gave way elsewhere under changed circumstances. A gradual intermingling of blood during the space of twenty centuries confounded the types found in different places. Further, confusion set in with the rise of the Snake about 1500 B.C. The Snake deluged both Europe and Asia in a great conflagration and out of this mighty fire came out the Latin and the Greek, the Aryan and the Iranian, in great splendour, putting forth a brilliant life. The Velan descendants were, however, unaffected by this great upheaval. When its work

was done, the Snake died, the Sūran flocks yielded under pressure and the Latin and the Greek, the Iranian and the Aryan disappeared after an ephemeral existence. In the first century A.D., the Mongol came upon the scene and deluged the two continents for fifteen centuries. Thereafter, the Velan stocks are seen bursting into great splendour and putting forth a new brilliant life.

Thus, the Semitic traditions recorded in the Bible were enacted in Atlanta: the Indo-European flock is not Japhetic: Caucasic should no longer be used to designate the Indo-European races. For, the term Aryan represents that moiety of the Sūran flock which found its way into India and can, on no account, represent the Velan flock. It is further interesting to observe that a moiety of the Sūran race is found embedded in the mountain harbour of South Germany.

The author seeks support for his views from Haeckel, Slater and Bishop Caldwell. How he arrives at the distinction between the long head order and the short head kind in the Indo-European races does not seem clear. The streams of mankind are considered as eight dual streams, a rabble made up of a number of hordes, with their flimsy totemic organisation, and broadly characterised as long and short heads. The Sūrans are again represented with a horse face and human trunk, the Velans being depicted with a bull face and a human body. The solution of this theriomorphic puzzle is said to lie in the buffalo-man of the Umaic epic. The Biblical Adam is found wearing an ox skull bone helmet, significantly enough. Totem institutions and totemic worship threw a flood of light on the ancient institution of man and it sprung out of the bone helmet institution. The one-eyed and the three-eyed gods are also accounted for from the helmet. The Velan bull and the Sūran horse are two distinct types in the development of man's migrations.

The fire of the Snake affected least the Velans in South India and their epic therefore contains, though broken, the most genuine traditions of the human race. The Sangham literature refers to the great Velo-Sūran War. Skanda is a Velan diety

passing as Subrahmaṇya in Northern India. The Aryan horse mentioned in the Ṛg Veda is the same Sūran horse and we find a mutilated account of the great war in the Veda. The Velan or Veḷḷālan burial customs in Southern India in which a recumbent bull is placed over the graves of the dead further supports the inference drawn from Nandi being the *Vāhana* of the God Śiva. The Dravidian zone in India deserves deep and most careful study in order to controvert views of the Northern passage theory.

Between the Caucasic and the Indo-European there is as much difference in racial characteristics as between the Negro and the Caucasic.

From these bases, the author concludes that the Indo-European civilisation is a blend of three different incompatible racial elements, *viz.*, the Bull, the Mark and the Snake. A marvellous intellectual fecundity, a wealth-accumulating instinct in the form of capitalism, the communistic trait of the Snake and other factors have been leading the world on to the brink of a precipice. A better order has to be evolvéd, retaining the best virtues of all nations, avoiding the pitfalls of each with the sole idea of promoting the happiness of the largest number.

S. S.

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## Report of the Archæological Department of the Travancore State (1934-35)

ALL important inscriptions hitherto discovered and possessing a historical or paleographical importance have been collected and published in the Travancore Archæological series. An important discovery was made at Padmanabhapuram, the old capital of the State, where a palace was found to have been constructed about 1335. The mythological figures painted on the walls are well designed, fresh and in tact, forming really a valuable heritage of the past, unsurpassed in linear presentation, full of charm, expression and meditative repose, revealing a new work of ancient riches. Of these, a scene depicting a group of women wearing sacred thread makes the highest human

appeal. These paintings appear to belong to the sixteenth century A.D. The picture gallery which was opened by His Highness the Maharaja on the 25th September 1935 deserves wide support.

S. S.

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### Annual Report of the Archæological Department, Cochin State (1934-35 A.D.)

THE Marriage scene of Umā found on the walls of the Mattannacheri palace at Cochin is interesting, revealing an interest in secularism and containing subjects largely drawn from incidents connected with contemporary Malayālee social life. The marriage procession of Pārvati represents a typical procession of a Malayālee bride reflecting their homelife and the religious ceremonies preceding a Malayālee marriage. A significance of the Paraśurāma legend is adverted to in an article contributed by the State Archæologist Mr. P. Anuja Achan, who says that the Rāma referred to in the Vedas, in the *Śatapatha Brāhmaṇa* and elsewhere is a different individual in each case, distinct from Paraśurāma and seeks to account for the connection of Paraśurāma with the great Bhṛgu of the Vedas by epic writers. He regards Paraśurāma whose name is shrouded in mythology as still a living personality, an all-India figure who has marked importance particularly in Malabar, with legends of his current in Assam, Udaipūr, Kangra, Bijapūr, Mysore, Gōkarṇa and elsewhere. He was a powerful Brahmin leader who established colonies in Southern India.

S. S.

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### Memoirs of the Archæological Survey of India No. 51— Animal Remains from Harappa

BY B. PRASAD, D.SC., F.R.S.C., F.A.S.B.

*Director of Zoological Survey of India, Calcutta*

THE animal remains at Harappa are over five thousand years old. The bones resemble those of the collections made at Anau and those described by Sewell from Mohenjo-daro. It has not been possible, for want of sufficient data, to correlate the animal remains from Mohenjo-daro and Harappa with such historical

animal remains in Persia, Mesopotamia, Syria or Egypt. The culture represented in Mohenjo-daro is as old as 3250 B. C. and perhaps far older. Domestication of various breeds of animals could not have been accomplished in a few hundred years and thus we would have to trace back to the progenitors of the Indus civilization by a couple of thousand years more. It is impossible to dogmatise whether domestication precedes or succeeds an agricultural stage of human development but one may be justified in regarding that primitive agriculture was able to advance with the domestication of animals and the two together had reached a certain degree of development by the time the Indus civilization came upon them. India was a very important centre for the domestication, not only of the buffalow but of the cattle, the sheep, the goat and the camel. With the material before us, it would be hazardous to say anything about the conclusion to be drawn from the great discoveries by Prasad at Harappa.

S. S.

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## The Matsya Purāṇa: A Study

BY V. R. RAMACHANDRA DIKSHITAR

(*Bulletins of the Department of Indian History and Archæology, No. 5. Price Re.* 1–0–0)

THE book is an amplification of a course of two lectures delivered by the author at the Madras University in 1933–34. It is here shown what contribution this Purāṇa, one of the eighteen Mahā-purāṇas, makes towards Hindu culture and ancient Indian History. The date of the Purāṇa is spread over a number of centuries commencing probably with the third or fourth century B.C. and ending with the third century A.D. It is to be placed in the post-epic and post-Dharamaśāstra period. It contains some interesting chapters on political and administrative institutions and here and there a number of stray references throw side-lights on the polity of the ancient Hindus.

We may also refer, in passing, to the varying versions of the flood legends as contained in the several purāṇas as well as

myths and lengends in the epics of the Hindus, the Babylonians, the Jews, the Greeks and the Egyptians, which show that racial units in the course of migrations and under the influence of immemorial customs and folk-beliefs consolidated them into a common heritage radiating, as it were, from an uncertain cultural centre of immense antiquity. By far the most important section of this Purāṇa is the one relating to architecture and iconography. In view of the fact that many of the passages occurring in this Purāṇa are closely parallel to those of the *Vāyu Purāṇa* with slight modifications in the names of places or persons, the author is of opinion that the *Matsya Purāṇa* is a copy of the *Vāyu Purāṇa*. In the last chapter, the author has shown the difference between the printed edition of the Sanskrit *Matsya Purāṇa* and the Tamil version of the *Macca Purāṇam* of Vaḍamalai-Appan. After a critical analysis, the Author has come to the conclusion that Vaḍamalaiyar must have worked on a Southern Recension of the sixteenth century. As in the case of the other publications of the Department of Indian History, the book under review has an excellent get-up. It is a welcome addition to the store of Purāṇic literature.

S. S.

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**Annual Report on South Indian Ephigraphy for the year ending 31st March 1933**

(*Pp.* 116 *with* 2 *plates. Price Rs.* 4—6—0)

In his tours, the Superintendent visited the village-site called Buddhapada near Mahmaturu in the Atmakur Taluk of the Nellore District and found the site strewn over with potsherds and other relics of ancient habitation and characterised by its high level. He rightly believes that the place might have been the site of some Buddhist remains. He also noticed on the top of the Pandavulakonda hill at Korukonda during his visit to Rajahmundry, ruins covering a big area, composed of large-sized bricks. We hope the excavation of these sites will be taken up early and will add to our archæological knowledge.

The view that the Mūlasthāna temple on the hill at Tirukkaḷukkunram is not identifiable with the temple of that name associated with the Pallava Nṛsimha Varman or the Coḷa Rajakesara Varman appears to be a correct one, though it is possible as suggested that Nṛsimha Varman built the cave temple. The report continues references to the Haihaya chiefs not noticed by Dr. Hultzsch and the revised tentative genealogy of the Kona Haihaya chiefs is interesting. Additional information about Dora ancestor of Beta of number 316 of 30–31 would be welcome, whether this Dora be an early member of the Chagi chiefs or any other. A bhatta in Rājarāja's time was expected to be well versed in the Vedas, able to teach the Pāṇiniya Vyākaraṇa, Alankāra and all the twenty chapters of the Mīmāmsa and feed his pupils.

The collection of the dates and arrangement of inscriptions according to places are helpful but might we suggest chronological arrangement of the inscriptions dealt with, together with a separate chapter for the text of the inscriptions, their translation and transliteration with a note thereon? That arrangement in the Mysore report is found very valuable.

S. S.

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## The Annual Bibliography of Indian Archæology for the year 1934 (Kern Institute)

We congratulate the Kern Institute on being able to obtain grants from the Governments of His Exalted Highness the Nizam of Hyderabad, Their Highnesses the Maharajas of Baroda, Travancore, Cochin, Indore, Jammu, Kashmir, and the Nawab of Bhopāl and we trust it will not be long before help is forthcoming from the other rulers, princes and philanthropists in India. It is regrettable that the work of exploration and restoration in Netherlands India was stopped owing to financial depression. The authorities of the Kern Institute deserve to be congratulated on the excellent work done during the year under review. We wish it will be possible to include a consideration of the work done in Mysore in the next report.

S. S.

# NOTES

## Viṣṇukuṇḍins and Mr. S. V. Viswanatha

IN a note in the April (1935) issue of this Journal, I pointed out that Mr. Viswanatha's paper on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins (*Q.J.M.S.*, XXV, pp. 75–86) is not up-to-date. In his rejoinder (*op. cit.*, XXVI, pp. 142–144), the learned scholar seems to take objection to the expression "not at all up-to-date". Since my papers on the genealogy and chronology of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins were published *about two years* before the publication of Mr. Viswanatha's paper (see *Ind. Hist. Quart.* for March and December 1933) and had had time to attract the notice of scholars in distant Europe (see *e.g.*, Prof. Dr. L. de la Valée Poussin, *Dynastics et Histoire de 'Inde*, etc., *Histoire du Monde*, VI,[2] Paris, 1935, p. 235), he could not be called quite up-to-date even though his paper "had been several *months* with the Editors of the Journal." I am, however, sorry to see that in spite of my drawing his attention to my papers in *Ind. Hist. Quart.* for 1933 and to Ch. V, secs. 1 and 2 of my monograph in *Journ. Dep. Lit.*, XXVI, 1935, Mr. Viswanatha has published this "rejoinder for rejoinder's sake" without going through any of them. It would have been fairer for him to take time to read them, if not for being "up-to-date," at least for finding out an historical truth.

Mr. Viswanatha has criticised two points, summarily discussed in the short note (*Q. J. M. S.*, April 1935, pp. 299–301) which was only meant for drawing his attention to my works on the Viṣṇukuṇḍins. As scholars would see, Mr. Viswanatha has not put forward anything in the nature of proof even against the two points he has criticised.

I have pointed out that, in all the Viṣṇukuṇḍin inscriptions, *only one king named Mādhavavarman* has been credited with the performance of *eleven Aśvamedhās* and *thousand Agniṣṭomās* (*Kratus*). If we accept the genealogy proposed by previous writers and followed by Mr. Viswanatha, we get

*three* Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings of the name Mādhavavarman, *all of whom* were performers of eleven Aśvamedhās and thousand Agniṣṭomās. It seems to me utterly absurd that *three* kings of the *same* name, *same* family and *same* age performed *exactly equal number* of sacrifices—eleven Aśvamedhās and thousand Agniṣṭomās. At least, I do not know if such a thing ever occurred in the history of the world. Mādhavavarman, the great performer of sacrifices, therefore, must be identical. Against these arguments of mine, Mr. Viswanatha merely says that the celebration of so many sacrifices by Mādhavavarman is " a hyperbole " and " a poet's description". But is that the question at issue ? The question is, why the name Mādhavavarman is credited with that " hyperbole " and not any other name of the family. Let Mr. Viswanatha suggest any logical answer to this question. I shall also be glad if he would kindly enumerate the grounds which may lead us to believe that there were *three Viṣṇukuṇḍins Mādhavavarman* who are said to have performed eleven Aśvamedhās and thousand Agniṣṭomās each.

Regarding the date of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, I have pointed out that, since the Śālankāyanas are known to have ruled the Andhra country up to about the middle of the fifth century, the known kings of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty could not have ruled from *Circa* 400 A.D., as is supposed by other writers and followed by Mr. Viswanatha. Against this argument, Mr. Viswanatha suggests that the Śālankāyanas were not masters of the entire Andhra country and thus he appears to say that the later known members of the Śālankāyana family and the earlier known members of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin dynasty ruled simultaneously in different parts of the Andhra country. It is, however, proved from the Kanteru (Guntur District) grant of Nandivarman II Śālankāyana (*c.* 420–445 A.D.) that the later Śālankāyanas issued charters from their capital at Verigi (= Pedda-vegi near Ellore) and granted lands in the Kudrāhāra-irṣaya which has been identified with " the country adjoining the modern town of Masulipatam (Bandar)" (see *Suc. Sāt. E. Dec.*, pp. 77–78). The evidence of the Ipur grants

and the Polamuru and Chikkulla grants of the Viṣṇukuṇḍins, on the other hand, shows that the kings of this family ruled over the Guntur and Godavari Districts. What is, however, more interesting is that, according to the Chikkulla grant, a residence (*Vāsaka*) of the Viṣṇukuṇḍin kings was at Ḷendutura which has been undisputedly identified with Deṇḍaluru on the site of the ancient city of Vengī. Would Mr. Viswanatha suggest that even the city of Vengī was divided between the Śālankāyanas and the Viṣṇukuṇḍins ? It must also be noticed that one of the Ipur grants was issued from Amarapura which has been identified with Amaravati (see *op. cit.*, pp. 113–117.)

Mr. Viswanatha has noticed that the genealogical list given by me in the note does not agree with the chronological chart on the next page. This is because I have omitted some princes who do not appear to have ruled as kings. I would again request Mr. Viswanatha to go through my works already referred to in the previous note.

DINES CHANDRA SIRCAR.

# EDITORIAL

We rejoice that His Highness the Maharaja of Mysore has, after a pleasant and successful tour in Europe, returned greatly improved in health.

***

Mrs. Shama Rao, wife of our President Rājakāryaprasakta Rao Bahadur M. Shama Rao, expired recently after a brief illness, at the age of 65. We tender our condolences to Mr. Shama Rao and the members of his family.

***

We regret to report the death of Diwan Bahadur C. Srikantesvara Iyer, a respected member of the Society and a retired Inspector-General of Police, in Mysore. He had left the three score years and ten, the allotted span of human life, many years behind and in his retirement rendered excellent service as President of the City Municipality, Member of the University Council and the State Legislative Council. We offer our condolences to the bereaved members of his family.

***

We heartily congratulate the following as the recipients of the Titles of the Gaṇḍabheruṇḍa Order bestowed upon them during the recent Dasara Durbar. Rājamantrapravīṇa N. Madhava Rao, B.A., B.L., Rājadharmaprasakta K. Shankara Narayana Rao, M.A., B.L., Rājasevāsakta S. Shamanna, B.A.

***

We congratulate Sir C. P. Ramaswami Aiyer on the distinction of "Sacivottama" of the Order of the Conch recently bestowed on him by His Highness the Maharaja of Travancore.

***

*The Annals of the Bhandarkar Oriental Research Institute*, Vol. XVII (1935–36), Part II, contains an illuminating article on the absorbing subject of the astronomical aspect of Vedic Gods from the pen of Hīralāl Amritlāl Shah.

***

In a short note on a Gupta Śiva Linga at Mathura (*Journal of the United Provinces Historical Society*, Vol. VIII, Part I) Vāsudēva S. Agarwala, Curator, Curzon Museum, Mathura, gives an interesting account of the Mukhalingas of the Gupta period found at Mathura as also three fine plates.

In an article entitled "Śrī Harṣa, the King-Poet" (*Indian Historical Quarterly*, Vol. XII, No. 3) Navigōpal Banerjee stoutly refutes the theory that the author of the well-known dramas, *Ratnāvaḷi*, *Priyadarśikā* and *Nāgānanda*, was Bāṇa and convincingly proves that the King-Poet was the real author.

***

"Geographical Data in Pāṇini" (*Ibid.*) is a well-informed article wherein the contributor—Basudev Upādhyāya—shows how detailed and accurate is the information given by Pāṇini regarding the parts of the Indian Continent.

***

Under the caption of "the Laws of Manu", the Editors of the *Shrine of Wisdom* (Vol. XVIII, No. 69) give an English rendering of the *Mānava Dharma Śāstra* with an informing introduction.

***

"The Geological Formations of South India" (*The Journal of the Madras Geographical Association* (Vol. X, No. 4) is the title of an interesting article by Mr. P. Sridhara Rao, wherein he has dealt with briefly the various geological formations and their localities.

***

In the *Bulletin of the Museum of Fine Arts*, Boston, April 1936 issue, Ānanda K. Coomarasamy gives an arresting figure of an Indian crocodile of the third century B.C. Another figure (p. 27) of *Kāmadeva and Rati* at Elura belonging to the eighth century A.D. is of great interest. That love and death in outward expression as desire and mortality are still a single power is especially conspicuous in Buddhism, where Māra (Mṛtyu or death) who is also Kāmadeva is in both respects Buddha's sworn enemy.

***

In the October 1936 issue of the same *Bulletin*, Ernest Mackay, Field Director, writes on the excavations at Chanhu-daro. He suggests the culture discovered in a particular area should be described by that culture like Harappa culture for example, instead of the 'Indus Valley Civilization'.

# EXCHANGES

**Editors of:—**

1. "MODERN REVIEW," 120/2, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
2. "THE HINDU MESSAGE," *Srirangam.*
3. "WEDNESDAY REVIEW," *Teppakulam, Trichinopoly.*
4. "THE SOUTH INDIAN RESEARCH," *Vepery, Madras.*
5. "THE EASTERN BUDDHIST," 39, *Ono Machi, Koyama, Kyoto* (*Japan*).
6. "THE CHRISTIAN COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Madras.*
7. "THE EDUCATIONAL REVIEW," *Mount Road, Madras.*
8. "THE VEDIC MAGAZINE," *Gurukula, Kangri, District Bijnor.*
9. "ZEITSCHRIFT DER DEUTSCHEN MORGENLANDISCHEN GESELLSCHAFT," *Halle, Germany.*
10. "THE SANSKRIT BHARATHI," *Burdwan, Bengal.*
11. "THE JOURNAL OF THE AMERICAN ORIENTAL SOCIETY," *New Haven, Connecticut, U.S.A.*
12. "THE KALPAKA," *Tinnevelly.*
13. "MAN," *The Royal Anthropological Institute, London.*
14. "MAN IN INDIA," *Ranchi, B.N.Ry.* (*India*).
15. "DJAWA," *Kanarillaan, Kadipolo, Solo.*
16. "THE KARNATAKA GRANTHAMALA," *Mysore.*
17. "THE JAINA GAZETTE," 436, *Mint Street, Madras.*
18. "THE INDIAN SOCIAL REFORMER," *Navsari Chambers, Outram Road,* (*opposite Hornby Road*), *Fort, Bombay.*
19. "PRABUDDHA BHARATA," *Adwaita Asrama, Mayavati P.O., Almora Dist.*
20. "VISHVA-BHARATHI," 10, *Cornwallis Street, Calcutta.*
21. "NAVASHAKTI," *Dharwar.*
22. "THE SHRINE OF WISDOM," *Aahlu,* 6, *Hermon Hill, London, E.* 11.
23. "WELFARE," 91, *Upper Circular Road, Calcutta.*
24. "BUDDHIST ANNUAL OF CEYLON," *Colombo.*
25. "KARNATAKA SAHITYA PARISHAT PATRIKA," *Bangalore.*
26. "EPIGRAPHIA INDO-MOSLEMICA," *Simla.*
27. "YOGAMIMAMSA," *Kunjavana, Lonavla, Bombay.*
28. "MAHARAJA'S SANSKRIT COLLEGE MAGAZINE," *Mysore.*
29. "THE MYSORE GAZETTE," *Librarian, Public Offices, Bangalore.*
30. "PRABUDDHA KARNATAKA," *University of Mysore, Mysore.*
31. "THE YOUNG MEN OF INDIA," *K. T. Paul, Esq., B.A., The Thottam, Salem.*
32. "AL-KALAM," *Bangalore.*
33. "VRITTANTA PATRIKA," *Mysore.*
34. "MYSORE CO-OPERATIVE JOURNAL," *No.* 1, 1*st Road, Chamarajapet, Bangalore City.*
35. "INDIAN HISTORICAL QUARTERLY," 107, *Mechuabazar Street, Calcutta.*
36. "THE PHILOSOPHICAL QUARTERLY," *Amalner* (*East Khandesh*).
37. "THE KARNATAKA," *Basavangudi P.O., Bangalore City.*

38. "RANGABHUMI," 3/34, *Manavarthepet, Bangalore City.*
39. "THE VEDANTA KESARI," *Ramakrishna Mutt, Mylapore, Madras.*
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51. "VISVAVANI," "*Annapurna*", *Visvesvarapuram, Bangalore City.*
52. "JAYAKARNATAKA," *Dharwar.*
53. "JOURNAL OF ORIENTAL RESEARCH," *Madras.*
54. "REVIEW OF PHILOSOPHY AND RELIGION," *Poona* 4.
55. "EAST OF SUEZ," 110, *East* 50*th St.* (*East of Park Ave.*), *New York.*
56. "YOGA," *Yoga Institute, Bulsar, India.*
57. "JOURNAL OF THE UNITED PROVINCES HISTORICAL SOCIETY," *Allahabad, U.P.*
58. "THE ARYAN PATH," 51, *Esplanade Road, Bombay.*
59. "BULLETIN OF THE SRI RAMAVARMA RESEARCH INSTITUTE," *Trichur.*
60. "SUFI," 14, *Hamilton Rd., Bromley Kent, England.*
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62. "INDIAN CULTURE," *Indian Research Institute,* 55, *Upper Chitpore Road, Calcutta.*
63. BUDDHA-PRABHA," *Journal of the Buddha Society, Bombay.*
64. "PRIMITIVE MAN," *Catholic Anthropological Conference, Washington.*
65. "THE POONA ORIENTALIST," *Oriental Book Agency, Poona.*
66. ADHYATMA PRAKASA KARYALAYA, *Bangalore.*

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